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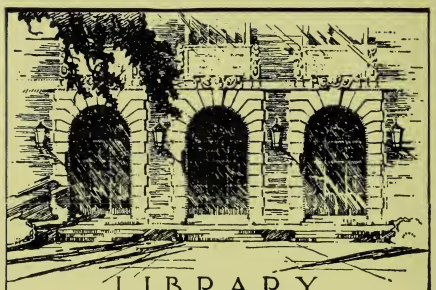


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· · · Life of · · ·

Gen. Benjamin Harrison.

A Full Account of his Ancestry, Boyhood, Early Struggles, Marriage, and Recent Political Triumphs,

With a Sketch of the Life and Public Services of

WHITELAW REID,

Together with Both Sides of the Question

Protection and Free Trade.

PROTECTION

BY

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE,

EX-SECRETARY OF STATE.

VALUE OF PROTECTION

BY

Hon. WM. M'KINLEY, Jr.,

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

FREE TRADE

BY

The Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE,

EX-PREMIER OF ENGLAND.

To which is appended a full account of the National Convention, Minneapolis, June 7-10, 1892, with Republican Platform Adopted.

Sketches of the Lives of all the Presidents of the United States, from Washington to Harrison, with Portraits.

ALSO

Reciprocity; The Silver Question; Behring Sea and Chilian Questions.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.

Harrison the Roundhead—Harrison the Soldier—Life in a Log Cabin—On the Threshold—Oratory Extraordinary.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE.

Boyhood's Days—A Noble Mother—Chores and Ambitions—The Sunday Dinner—The Family Bible—Going to School—Boyish Pranks—The Earnest Student—A Will and a Way—The Shadow Before.

CHAPTER III.

AT THE FOUNT OF KNOWLEDGE.

College and its Memories—Chums and Classmates—Anecdotes—Never at a Loss—Professors—A Wild Night—Daring Escapades—A Close Student—Midnight Oil—Good-bye to College.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

Simple Early Life—Personal Characteristics as a Boy—Always Reliable—Pleasing Manners—Courtesy Costs Nothing, but is Worth More than Gold—Always to the Front in Good Works—Business Life—Sympathy with the Distressed—A People's Man—Political Life—Chosen Vice-President.

CHAPTER VIII.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF GLADSTONE.

Biographical Sketch of Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Ex-Premier of England.

CHAPTER X.

FREE TRADE

BY

RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Apology for the Article—An Old Friend with a New Face—British Wages—Protection Viewed in its First Aspects—Relation Between Protection and High Wages—On the Reason, Why Protection only Injures and does not Ruin the United States—Moral Aspect of the Question.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

Biographical Sketch of Hon. James G. Blaine, Ex-Secretary of State, U. S. A.

CHAPTER XII.

PROTECTION
BY
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

Americans Honor Gladstone--England's Meat, other Nations' Poison—Why England was Content—Financial Disaster—Value of Protection During the War—Carrying the War into the Enemies' Camps—Gladstone's Moral Plea Faulty —His Great Error.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF WILLIAM M'KINLEY, JR.

Biographical Sketch of Hon. Wm. M'Kinley, Jr., Governor of Ohio.

CHAPTER XIV.

VALUE OF PROTECTION
BY
HON. WM. M'KINLEY, JR.
GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

We Shall Always Have Tariffs—The Sole Question at Issue—What the Protective System Has Accomplished—Revenue Tariff a Failure—A Few Facts.

CHAPTER XV.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Biographical Sketches of all the Presidents of the United States, from Washington to Harrison.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONVENTION AT MINNEAPOLIS.

The Great Convention—Minneapolis in Gala Attire—In Hotels and Boarding-Houses—Personnel of the Delegates—The Magnificent Auditorium—He Eulogizes His Party—Etc., Etc., Etc.

CHAPTER XVII.

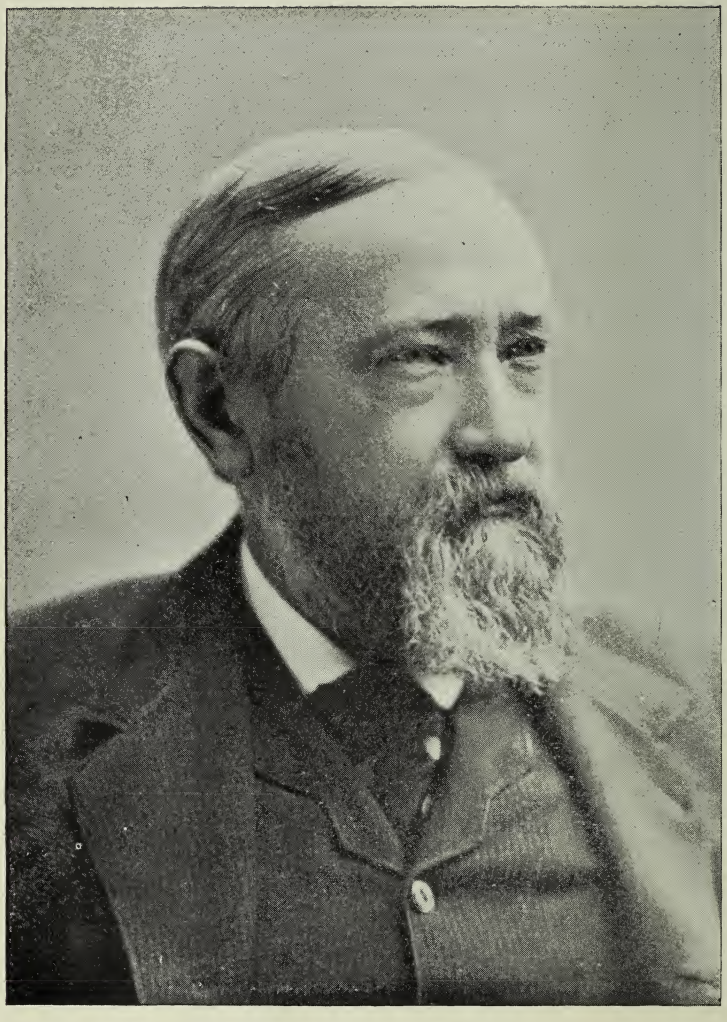
RECIPROCITY.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHILIAN QUESTION.



Benj Harrison

Life of

Benjamin Harrison.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestry.

It has been very cleverly said that "every man is the father of his own future," and, in a measure, this is true, but, after all, it is worth something and counts for much in the struggle toward eminence, that one is able to point to ancestors who have loomed above the mediocre multitude, and whose fairly-won laurels a nation loves to keep green with the dew of affectionate recollection. Benjamin Harrison, the subject of our sketch, was emphatically well-born. If it be true that "the education of a child should begin one hundred years before its birth," he is certainly unusually blessed in the matter of pre-natal education.

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Harrison the Roundhead.

Early in the sixteenth century we catch our first glimpse of the stock from which Benjamin Harrison sprung. For many years the Puritan sentiment had been growing among the middle and lower classes of Englishmen, while the aristocracy grew more and more arrogant and tyrannical. When James I. became king, his loudly-iterated doctrine of the Divine Right of Sovereigns, and his determined support of the English hierarchy, bitterly offended the grave and liberty-loving Puritans, whose stern piety soon took on a strong political character. Charles I., who succeeded James, carried his father's ideas to their utmost limit, and by the abuse of the royal prerogative, especially in matters of taxation, arrayed the majority in Parliament against him. Parliament after Parliament was dissolved, but as one succeeded another, the battle was kept up until open war was declared between the sovereign and the aristocrats (then first called cavaliers) on one side and the Puritans or Roundheads on the other—the latter being, practically, the representatives of the Parliament and people. Oliver Cromwell was one of the first great military leaders to force his way to the front. With his dreaded "Ironsides," he became the terror of the cavaliers and seemed invincible. Among his troops was a man who had once followed the trade of a butcher, and who soon attracted the attention of Cromwell, himself the son of a brewer in Huntington ; this man's name was Thomas Harrison, and

ere long his bravery and military genius won for him the position of Lieutenant-General. He was a member of the Parliamentary Court appointed to try Charles I. for high crimes and misdemeanors, and we find his signature attached to the sentence of death pronounced against that sovereign. On the restoration of Charles II., Thomas Harrison was tried and convicted as a regicide, and suffered execution. It is proof of the cool courage of the man, and the sense that he had only performed his duty, that kept him in England when America might easily have afforded him refuge. Thomas Harrison was an ancestor of Benjamin Harrison who possesses many of the former's traits.

Harrison the Patriot.

The next Harrison of note is Benjamin, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. That he fully understood the consequences of his act, in case of the failure of the cause of the colonies, is clearly shown by his amusing remark to Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, a tall, slim man, that "when the hanging scene came, he would be dead in a few minutes, while Gerry would be kicking in the air." Harrison was frequently called upon to fill positions of trust, was in Congress until 1778, was elected to the Virginia Legislature several times, and in 1782 became Governor of the State, being re-elected to that office until the Constitution rendered him ineligible.

CHAPTER II.

Life in a Log Cabin.

Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the old homestead, August 20, 1833. His was the healthy out-door life of the ordinary American boy. Removed from the luxuries and temptations of crowded cities, he grew up in love with nature and nature's God. The broad Ohio flowed placidly past the door of his father's house, a deep, strong, silent river, splendidly symbolical of the strong, earnest character of the future President. The farm on which he lived was fair and fertile, and produced within its boundaries nearly everything required for the comfort of the family. Young Benjamin early learned the need of labor. As a boy he performed his part of the chores on the farm. He drove the mild-eyed cows to and from the pasture, and carried the foaming pails of milk to the dairy. He tossed the fragrant hay in the meadow and gathered the golden and rosy spoil of autumn in the orchard. He grew up quiet and contemplative, a grave young David of the Miami. Many strangers visited the old homestead, a little distance away, but he came in contact with very few of them. Close by his father's house was a little log cabin, used as a school-house. It was furnished with the most

primitive simplicity. No modern desks were there for the convenience of scholars. The seats were rude slabs set upon blocks, had no backs against which one could lean. The building was fully in keeping with the furniture, unpainted without, unplastered within, and with only nature's floor, it was indeed a very rude temple of knowledge; but it answered every purpose, and was the first workshop in which young Benjamin Harrison's mind began to be shaped. The distance to other schools was far too great for the farmers' boys of the neighborhood, so many of them also attended the little log cabin. Full of sturdy health and boyish spirits, they were excellent companions for Benjamin, and many a hunt after birds' nests and wild bees' nests they had together. When the old cabin began to let in the sunshine and the rain a little too liberally, the school was removed to a room in Benjamin's father's house, and here he trod the path of learning until he was fourteen years old. His father was a strict church-goer, and early instructed his children in their religious duties. In those days parents did not regard the Sabbath school as furnishing a means of relief from their obligation to instruct their little ones in Divine Truth, but devoted strict personal attention to it. Benjamin soon learned to love the Bible and to obey its precepts, and owes much of the respect in which he is held to-day to his splendid moral training. But his Sabbath recollections are not only of the church in which he "heard the parson pray and preach," for that

CHAPTER III.

On the Threshold.

We now see Benjamin Harrison, a young man of eighteen, with a more than ordinarily good education, of fine moral character and bright intelligence—small, slim, with an eager face well set off by bright, earnest eyes. He is in love, and that with a girl whose father holds a good position and is much respected. Now, love operates in two ways—it either totally destroys all desire for advancement, utterly encircling the soul in dreams and fantasies, or it nerves a man to work, and furnishes a splendid stimulus for his ambition. The latter was the case with Benjamin Harrison. Some turn to poetry, he turned to law. He was without means, and could have no expectations from his father, whose financial affairs were terribly embarrassed; though he was the possessor of a good farm, and was himself an industrious and intelligent farmer, his easy and generous disposition led him to trust many worthless persons, until nothing was left to him of his original property. He endorsed the notes of his neighbors and borrowed for his own necessities. He would have been left homeless only for the kindness of his relatives who continued him on the farm. Thus, at an early age, Benjamin was taught the folly



MRS. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

of trusting promiscuously, and, no doubt, his father's humiliation was a good lesson to him in after years. Harrison had not been trained with any view to a definite profession, but his turning to the law seemed the most natural thing to do under the circumstances. First, it was an eminently respectable profession, and kept him in a social class similar to that of the young lady of his choice; and, secondly, the chances for preferment were great. His knowledge of the history of the country showed him that many lawyers had attained eminence; that many, even most, of the Presidents of the United States had practiced that profession, added to which, it would enable him to secure a respectable livelihood in the shortest possible time. Having then determined upon his profession, his next move was to enter the office of some truly able lawyer. Many young men have failed just here; they seek as their instructors either men of little note who can do little toward advancing them, or men of practice so large as to ensure the neglect of students altogether. Some, again, choose those who will be lenient with them, and not keep them too closely confined to work. It was far otherwise with Harrison. He entered the office of two of the most honorable and able lawyers in Ohio—the firm of Stover & Gwynne, of Cincinnati. These gentlemen paid every attention to the young student, and he made rapid progress; but all this time his heart was with his lady-love. Poor as he was, he knew that she had every confidence in his

CHAPTER X.

Oratory Extraordinary.

Perhaps the most severe test to which the genius of President Harrison has yet been put, was on the wonderful journey of ten thousand miles, made by rail, through the United States, from April 14 to May 15, 1891. At almost every place of consequence the President was called upon for an address, and he responded with such felicity and dealt with such a wide range of subjects, that a burst of admiring acclaim rang throughout the country. The people of the southern States were as charmed with the tact and courtesy of the man as were the men of his own west. He did not disdain to give words of cheer to the Indians who came to see him, and his kindly words warmed the hearts of the colored people, and cheered them on the rough way toward civilization. Just think of it—dashing through the most magnificent scenery on the face of the earth, in a splendid train such as the most opulent eastern potentate never even dreamed of, over thousands of miles of territory, teeming with vigorous life, spangled with glorious farms, flecked with almost countless herds of cattle, ribboned with rivers of gleaming silver, and jeweled with glittering lakes flung down like giants' shields on a mighty battle-field, while Titanic

referring to the great development of mineral wealth and the stream of immigration pouring into the State; he spoke of the blessings of the restored Union, of the joy he felt in seeing all render homage to the regality of the Constitution, and of his great desire to evince in his lofty station the qualities of a loyal servant of the people. He showed how much grander were the triumphs of peace over those of war, and how true were Whittier's words, that

> "Peace hath higher tests of manhood
> Than battle ever knew."

The people of Tennessee rose as one man to honor their President; his words were so true, so gentle, so full of warm, brotherly kindness and homely wisdom, that mountaineers and lowlanders alike found him a man after their own hearts. In Georgia he was welcomed by the Governor and principal officers in the most hospitable manner. He addressed the boys of the night school in Atlanta, and in other places spoke on the freedom of elections, and the duty of the people to educate their children in the fear of God. Loyal Georgia, he said, was a sight to move his profound admiration and gratitude to God. He cheered the hearts of the people of Alabama by the evidence he gave of his knowledge of the advance and needs of the State. He went from cotton to watermelons, from town lots in Birmingham to the shipping question, with an evident grasp of the subject that appealed to the

most practical. He discussed harbors, reciprocity and commerce in Texas, and did not forget to mention the coming benefits of the Nicaragua Canal. At El Paso he addressed a crowd of Americans, Indians, and Mexicans. On the platform, beside him, was seen the Governor of the Mexican State of Chihuahua, who was commissioned by President Diaz, of Mexico, to present his compliments to the President of the United States, a grateful charge most gracefully performed. President Harrison seized the opportunity to express a hope that there might be a great development of commercial relations between the two republics, and charmed all with his modesty and good sense. At Lordsburg, New Mexico, he was presented by the citizens with a beautiful case of silver, mined in the vicinity, and in exchange left behind him golden opinions. The people of Arizona turned out to welcome him as his train dashed through, and at his first stop in California he was presented with an address by Chief Cabazon, head of the Indio tribe of Indians ; Cabazon is over 100 years old. At San Diego, Governor Torres of Lower California, met President Harrison and again presented him with the good wishes of President Diaz, of Mexico, to which Mr. Harrison made a most happy reply, emphasizing the respect in which President Diaz is held in the United States, and his wish that cordial relations might always endure between the sister republics. Glorious California responded gloriously to President Harrison's ringing



WHITELAW REID.

Life of

Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

About a mile from White Plains, New York, stands a palatial residence, surrounded by about eight hundred acres of as lovely meadow and woodland as can be seen in the fair Empire State. The place is known as the Ophir Farm, and the residence cost over one million of dollars. Without, it is a stately pile; within, the abode of luxury. Its furnishings are of the most sumptuous order, and the recent works of art are scattered about in bewildering opulence. Such is the home of Hon. Whitelaw Reid, whose nomination for the vice-presidency, by the Republican National Convention, has caused such widespread satisfaction throughout the country. Mr. Reid has just returned from Paris, where, as Minister to France, he had won golden opinions, and a round of banquets and speech-making had rendered rest desirable, when, without any effort on his own part, and almost without an inkling to the country at large, he is nominated

for the second place on the Republican ticket. His friends and neighbors were almost wild with enthusiasm, and hundreds visited him at his lovely home within a short time after the arrival of the news. Mr. Reid was doubly delighted ; first, with the honor shown him, and, next, with the interest of his friends. It speaks well for his candid nature and for the spirit that he will bring into the discharge of the duties of his high office, that he so frankly expresses his satisfaction at the favor shown him. When the citizens arrived, Mr. Reid was still at table with that most genial gentleman, Colonel John Hay, well-known as poet and politician. Mr. Reid came out on the balcony and said :

" *Friends and Neighbors:* It gives me great pleasure to receive this cordial welcome home, after a long absence abroad, and I am proud to be with you. I am standing on historic ground, which you are probably better acquainted with than I am. I understand this is purely a welcome from the citizens of White Plains, irrespective of party, and I will not detain you with any speech from a partisan standpoint ; but if you will permit me to make a remote reference to politics, I will say that I am a Republican from way back."

Mr. Reid then told his friends and neighbors how much pleased he was to meet them, Republicans and Democrats. These remarks were followed with an apology for not being able to receive his guests as he would like. He said that he had been at home for a week only, but if the callers would

step into the house, Mrs. Reid and himself would be pleased to receive them.

Mr. and Mrs. Reid then took a place in the great onyx hall, and were there made acquainted with nearly all of their neighbors whom they did not already know.

It is a curious fact that Mr. Morton, the present Vice-President, is a millionaire, and Mr. Reid, though not so wealthy, is worth more than a million dollars. Only two of the Presidents of the United States have left the office worth more than $100,000, so that two millionaire Vice-Presidents in succession is something of a coincidence. Mr. Reid's home is one of the most imposing structures in the State. It is built of grey granite, after Mr. Reid's own designs, and should properly be called a castle, as it is in the old Norman baronial style. A view of Long Island Sound for forty miles can be had from the windows. Whitelaw Reid was born in Xenia, Ohio, in October, 1837; thus the State of Grant, Hayes, and Garfield, claims him as her son. His ancestors were Scotch, his mother being of the blood of the Clan Ronald, a powerful highland family. His paternal grandfather, also of Scotch blood, emigrated to this country late in the last century, and settled in Kentucky, among the first of those whose heroism has made memorable "the dark and bloody ground." Early in 1800, he removed to the neighborhood of what is now Cincinnati, and bargained for some land near the river. One of the terms of the sale was, that he should run a ferryboat across the

river on Sabbath days. Old Mr. Reid was a Covenanter and rigid as all such men then were. His conscience troubled him. He felt that he could not sell his principles for money, and though the place he had purchased was exceedingly desirable, he gave it up rather than run that ferryboat and offend his God. It is worth while to be born of a race like this, and Mr. Reid is no degenerate scion of this splendid stock. His grandfather then settled near Xenia, in Greene County, Ohio, becoming one of the earliest settlers in that part of the State. Here Whitelaw was born. Mr. Reid was not only fortunate in his parents, but also in his preceptor, Rev. Hugh McClintock, D. D., a Covenanter and a God-fearing, scholarly man. Young Whitelaw attended the academy at Xenia, and was aided in his studies by Mr. McClintock, who was his uncle. Though his parents were far from rich, they managed to scrape enough money together to send the boy to college, so that at nineteen years of age he entered Miami College, about four years after Benjamin Harrison left the institution. Thus, oddly enough, the two candidates had the same Alma Mater, and it is quite certain that the training which has rendered the President such a safe and able man, has had the same effect on Whitelaw Reid

THE GREAT CONVENTION.



If there was ever a heaven upon earth,
It is here! it is here! it is here!

Scent of white cherry blossoms, billowing in one vast perfumed sea out toward the world-famed Falls of Minnehaha, wide-spreading prairie, greener than Ireland's boasted fields, and starred with innumerable flowers, that seem to have burst by magic from the sod, all anxious to glorify the short summer with their eager beauty. The swift, passionate Mississippi, bordered by great factories, now dashing in wild turbulence over the Falls of St. Anthony, and now racing along as though eager to escape the hungry mills that depend upon its power to move their vast machinery. Triumphs of the architect's skill burst upon you in the most unexpected places, not ranged in long rows, but standing singly, revealing every detail in that marvellous light and under that wonderful sky of which an Italian may dream, but never behold, in his native land; then long, long streets, straight as a thought of God, with houses surrounded by velvet lawns and bowered in a magical wealth of variegated greenery. You may walk for miles along these streets and avenues, and still the same charming



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION HALL,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

view will greet you. Except for the houses of the Poles and Bohemians, in the lowlands by the river, you would dream that poverty had been banished from this lovely spot. On both sides of the Mississippi rise the greatest flour mills in the world, which turn out 30,000 barrels a day, and lumber mills that have in one year manufactured 165,000,000 feet of lumber; no wonder the palaces of the business men of Minneapolis can vie with those of European princes. When the citizen of Minneapolis retires to his home, he leaves business behind him, for the resident and business portions of the city are widely separated. The streets at night, except in the neighborhood of the hotels, are as quiet as any meditative philosopher could wish; but all this is changed now, the city is

In Gala Attire,

the glorious banner of the Union floats from houses and tree-tops, while triumphal arches, decorated with all the skill at the disposal of an ingenius and generous people, tell of the welcome the great city accords to her numerous visitors. The hotels are one fluttering mass of gorgeous bunting; the West House, one of the finest hostelries on earth, looks like a May queen risen from some green dell, splendid with the trickery of fairy drapery. The Nicollet is not one whit less gay, and the great convention building is in a blaze of glory. It is Sunday, June 5th, and the quiet city presents a strange scene—every train is unloading

its shouting contingent; Harrison and Blaine are on every lip; the white plume of Maine's great son floats on the breeze. Enthusiasm runs wild—here is a group singing in stentorian tones a song evidently improvised on the journey hither:

"Let every honest fellow from Maine to Oregon;
Let every honest fellow, unless he's a son of a gun,
Let every honest fellow, unless he's a son of a gun,
Be sure and cast his vote for Benjamin Harrison."

And here comes from two hundred throats the wild reply—a reply caught up along the streets until "earth and her waters and the depths of air" seem to take up the sound:

"We are for the man from Maine,
He will get there just the same;
Pennsylvania is here to stay,
And she stands by Matthew Quay.
CHORUS.—Ta-ra-ra, Boom-de-ay, etc."

In the Hotels and Boarding Houses.

Men and even women shout themselves hoarse; it is all they have to do; the real business is being settled by quiet groups of men gathered around tables in the upper rooms—earnest men who know what they are about and fence with each other like skilled swordsmen. There is no over-crowding yet, but every place seems full. The delegations of numerous States are here—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and also those from the new States have already occupied their quarters. What a jolly set of fellows they are! This may be

a vast country, but these men look as though they belonged to one family. The same nation truly; the man from New Jersey finds a brother in the man from North Dakota; the man from California may be seen arm-in-arm with the man from Connecticut. The States of such a nation can never be separated. We hear of French, German, Italian and Spanish cookery; just look at these men around the tables, they eat, eat, eat and never trouble about the cookery. They are cooking another dish entirely, and hope that they may be able to put the Democratic party "in the soup" this fall, and feel sure that they will, and all seem desirous that Cleveland may furnish the soup-stock. But we are interested most in the

Personnel of the Delegates;

that is, of the more prominent men who are here this June Sabbath—here is a group of Blaine leaders—Tom Platt of New York, dapper as a tailor's clerk, and cool as the shaggy hide of a polar bear. We remember when, with the lordly Conkling, he passed out of the Senate, and how he failed of re-election. Oh, how innocent he looks! But beware! oh, beware!

"Trust him not, he is fooling thee,
Beware! oh, beware!"

Then, here is Foraker of Ohio, a little greyer than when we saw him last, riding with the men of the Grand Army in Washington, but fiery still, full of nervous power and force; he is flame to Platt's ice—a wonderful

This morning, June 6th, they had a little fracas, which has been greatly magnified by rumor. The Blaine men were marching up the street, carrying a banner bearing the name of the Plumed Knight, when one of the other side dashed in and tried to snatch it away. A little girl held it, however, and lifted it out of reach of the enemy, amid wild cheers for Blaine and the young lady; the matter was soon hushed up, however. There is still much doubt as to who will be temporary chairman. Two names are much discussed, those of Hon. J. Sloat Fassett, who ran for Governor of New York last fall, and was beaten by the Tammany candidate, and General Horace Porter, whose wonderful energy has resulted in raising $350,000 for the Grant monument. The latter is, however, the more highly favored by both parties, as Fassett is supposed by the Harrison men to be too strongly in favor of Blaine. Fassett's nomination will mean that Blaine is ahead.

The Magnificent Auditorium

will seat at least ten thousand people. It was originally intended for an exhibition building, but is marvellously adapted for its present use. The decorations are beyond all description. The building was crowded to its utmost capacity on the occasion of its dedication, on the night of June 6th. The dedicatory speech was made by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew of New York. He said:

"*Ladies and Gentlemen:* It has been my privilege to voice the spirit and meaning of the occasion at the

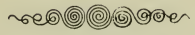
RECIPROCITY.



The idea of an American Zollverein is by no means a new one. Yet, as the development of the idea was reserved for Mr. Blaine, he may fairly be considered as the father of the movement. He first proposed it in 1881, when he was Secretary of State in Garfield's Cabinet, but the assassination of that President led to its postponement until Mr. Blaine came once more into office. The first idea was to limit the negotiations to the settlement of all difficulties that might arise between American nations, but when the matter was again taken up, this plan was broadened to include many commercial questions. Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Nicaragua, Peru, Chili, Brazil and the Argentine Republic accredited as delegates their resident ministers; Colombia, Venezuela, the Argentine Republic and Brazil sent each two more delegates, while Chili and Mexico added only one apiece to their usual representatives in Washington. Honduras, Ecuador and Bolivia, Salvador, Costa Rica, Uraguay and Paraguay, as also Hayti, sent accredited envoys, though the views of these representatives, with respect to the functions of the congress, were by no means in accord. The congress met October 2, 1889.

Mr. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State for the United States, was chosen president, the only objection coming from the two Argentine delegates. This was the best nomination that could possibly have been made, as Mr. Blaine was entrusted to negotiate, with full powers, with the delegates, and his purpose was to secure, by every reasonable effort, the success of the congress. There were practically two subjects before the congress—Arbitration and Reciprocity. With the former this article has nothing to do; with the latter, much. The conference agreed that to establish a customs union in the sense of a great American Zollverein would, under existing circumstances, be almost impossible, but that the promotion of trade between the respective countries could be best served by reciprocity treaties. While such treaties had been made before, notably one with Mexico in 1883, which practically fell through, this was the beginning of a definite system of reciprocal trade. Trade must necessarily be of mutual advantage to the seller and the buyer; the advantage then derived from trade is what we call reciprocity, but it must, in its nature, be of equal, or relatively equal, benefit to both parties. Obstructions in the way of consumer and producer destroy reciprocity, nor can true reciprocity exist where one side must do all the buying and another all the selling, as it is clear that the nation that sells derives the greater benefit from the profits that accrue through larger production. Now, an illustration of this may be found in our

THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION.



Over one hundred years ago, Russia came into possession of the Aleutian Islands and the territory we at present call Alaska. The region appeared cheerless and inhospitable, only a few half-starved aboriginal tribes wandering over its vast extent. Its value to Russia lay in the vast number of fur-bearing animals it contained, many of them of the most valuable species, such as otter, mink, sable, marten, and fur seals. At this time such animals, especially the fur seal, were much more widely distributed over the earth's surface. Vast rookeries existed in Patagonia, Falkland Islands, Kerguelen Land, and numerous islands of the Antarctic Seas. Seals could be counted there by millions, but the ruthless greed and improvidence of the hunters has entirely destroyed them, so that very few can be seen on those wonderful breeding grounds to-day. In fact, the entire supply of the world is now dependent upon the rookeries in Behring Sea, the Islands of St. Paul and St. George in the Pribylor Group, owned by the United States, and two other islands, owned by Russia, the Commander Islands,

Behring and Copper Islands, near the Asiatic shore. For over seventy years Russia drew her supply of fur seals from this source, unmolested by any intruding power. The Russian fur-hunters were men of daring temper. They did not wait to build commodious vessels, nor even to secure sea-worthy boats, but dashed into the enterprise on craft little better than rafts, flung together hastily and manned by as wild and roving a body of men as ever drew the breath of life. Planks were tied together with rawhide, seal thongs and stray pieces of rope, and without chart or compass, these men set out on their dangerous errand. Hundreds never reached their destination. Many, after a rich harvest, found watery graves, and beneath the tide of Behring Sea lies many a valuable cargo of skins, consigned by fate to the arms of ocean. When we speak of Behring Sea we must not imagine a stretch of sunlit waters, dimpling and pooling in dells of purple, green and gold; we must not imagine a clear northern sky, blue as the heaven that smiles down upon fair Italy. Oh, no; this is the region of eternal fog; gray, sullen, lowering fog that no glass can pierce, no sun dissipate. You cannot tell where the sky begins and the sea ends. You sail out and out, on and on, into the dense mist, and the prow of your vessel cuts through a fog that closes on you and swallows you up, as it were. It is a weird, mysterious land, a strange and ghastly sea; what wonder, then, that for long years the Pribylor Islands were not

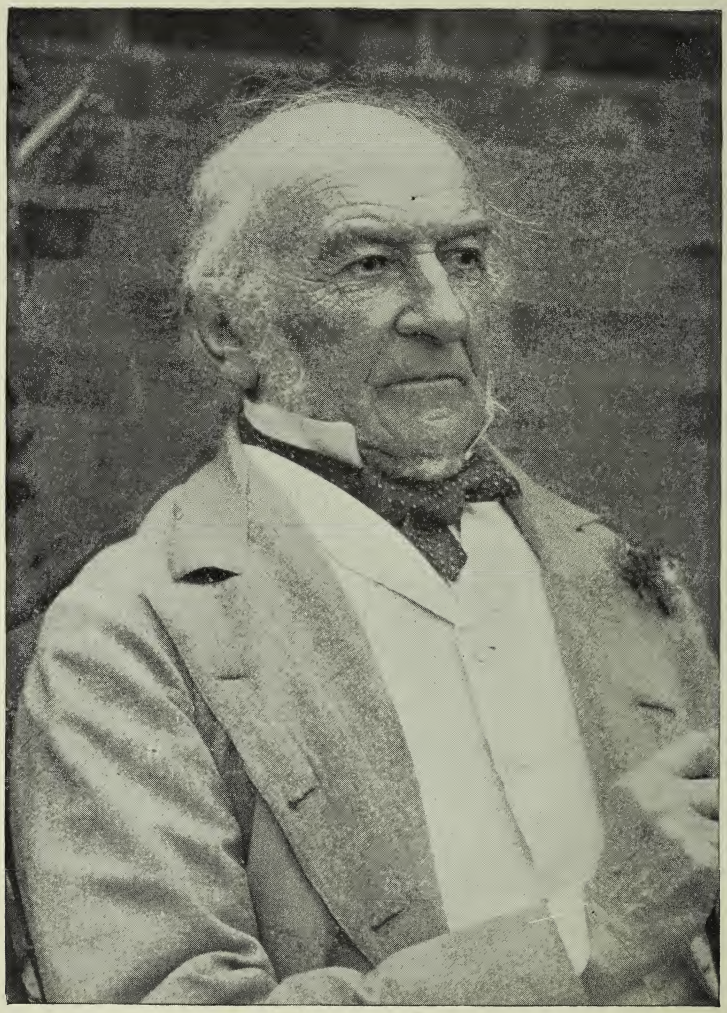
THE CHILIAN QUESTION.



It is astonishing how ignorant we, of the United States, are of our neighbors of South America. Proud of our own greatness, and of the marvellous strides we have made in civilization and power, we are too apt to undervalue the resources and abilities of the smaller nations about us. Once in a while history, however, revenges itself upon us and we are forced, much against our will, to take notice of those around us. Of all our neighbors, Chili is, perhaps, the least understood, and even the late war with Peru has failed to make us much better acquainted with her. Of all the South American republics, Chili is the brainiest and most plucky; she has never been conquered by a foreign enemy, and, until yesterday, had no national debt. Her population is now nearly four millions, with a larger admixture of Spanish blood than any of her sister republics. This necessarily makes her prouder and stauncher than the rest, and more prompt to resent affronts. The area of Chili is about 219,925 square miles, and extends from the Bay of Mejillones to Cape Horn, a distance of 2270 miles, while in breadth it varies from 40 to 200 miles. Chili has enjoyed a greater degree of peace

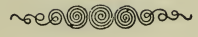
than any of her neighbors, and her constant victories over the surrounding powers, has led her people to suppose themselves invincible. The country first became known to Europeans in the sixteenth century. Its name signifies "snow" from Tchile, an ancient Peruvian word; such is the country and such is the people with which the United States came very near to engaging in war a few short months ago. The constitution of Chili differs from that of the United States in one important respect; namely, that the President is elected for five years and is not eligible for a second term. José Manuel Balmaceda came into office in 1886; he represented the popular party as opposed to the aristocratic element and the clerical power. Prior to this time, Chili had been practically governed by an oligarchy of the rich and renowned Spanish families, but the war with Peru has enabled the common people to press to the front and, as their representative, Balmaceda came into power. He was by no means disloyal to his constituency; he passed the Civil Marriage and Cemeteries Secularization bills, and proved to the church and to the aristocracy his intention to stand by the people. Through a coalition of the opposing elements in congress, his government was left in a minority but, contrary to the action of President McMahon of France, he still clung to office.

The Chilian constitution gives the President power to appoint his own cabinet officers, and to fill positions in the civil service, but the congress insisted on



Yours very faithfully
W. E. Gladstone

Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE.



The autocrat of English politics to-day is the Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone. For over fifty years his name has been in the mouths of Englishmen, and he truly merits the name bestowed on him of The Grand Old Man. He was born December 29, 1809, near Liverpool, England. He is of pure Scotch blood on both sides. His father was once engaged in the business of a draper but, becoming interested in the India trade, soon amassed a large fortune and secured a baronetcy. William is his fourth son. He was sent to Eton and Oxford, taking the highest honors at Christ Church College. December, 1832, he was elected to Parliament from Newark, a borough under the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle. He prepared himself by quite extensive travel and observation. Under the Peel ministry he became Junior Lord of the Treasury, and the next year, 1835, Secretary of Colonial Affairs. In 1841, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint, and in 1842 he showed his free-trade principles in his revision of the British tariff. In 1843, he was chosen President of the Board of Trade, and was Secretary for the

colonies under Sir Robert Peel. From 1846 until 1847 he was not in Parliament, but since that date has constantly represented some constituency. The University of Oxford honored him by electing him its representative in Parliament in 1847, thus inaugurating his marvellous hold on office. In 1850, he gave the world a double taste of his character—first, in his opposition to the brutal treatment of Greece in the Don Pacifico affair, and next by his vigorous denunciation of the Bourbon misrule in Naples, which he had seen with his own eyes. Garibaldi called his portrait The First Trump of Liberty. About this time, his great Parliamentary battles with Benjamin Disraeli began, and continued until the latter statesman was called to the House of Lords. As a financier, Gladstone never met an equal. His budgets had all the interest of history, with a practical value rarely achieved. Under his management figures assumed a magical charm. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he made himself a name throughout the civilized world. He came out as a Liberal, fully, in 1859, after the Crimean War. During the American Civil War he was at first favorable to the South, fully believing that the United States would be divided, but he was quick to see his error, and nobly expressed his change of opinion. Gladstone has been Prime Minister of England three times. He has stood always for the Rights of Nations. The Golden Rule has been the core of his statesmanship. Greece, Belgium, South Africa and, above all,

FREE TRADE.

The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

1. Apology for this Article.

The existing difference of practice between America and Britain with respect to free trade and protection of necessity gives rise to a kind of international controversy on their respective merits. To interfere from across the water in such a controversy is an act which may wear the appearance of impertinence. It is *prima facie* an intrusion by a citizen of one country into the domestic affairs of another, which, as a rule, must be better judged of by denizens than by foreigners. Nay, it may even seem a rather violent intrusion; for the sincere advocate of one of the two systems cannot speak of what he deems to be the demerits of the other otherwise than in broad and trenchant terms. In this case, however, it may be said that something of reciprocal reproach is implied in the

glaring contrast between the legislation of the two countries, apart from any argumentative exposition of its nature. And where should an Englishman look for weapons to be used against protection, or an American for weapons to be wielded in its favor, except in America and England respectively?

This sentiment received, during the late Presidential struggle, a lively illustration in practice. An American gentleman, Mr. N. McKay, of New York, took, according to the proverb, the bull by the horns. He visited Great Britain, made what he considered to be an inspection of the employments, wages and condition of the people, and reported the result to his countrymen, while they were warm with the animation of the national contest, under the doleful titles of "Free-Trade Toilers" and "Starvation Wages for Men and Women." He was good enough to forward to me a copy of his most interesting tract, and he did me the further honor to address to me a letter covering the pamphlet. He challenged an expression of my opinion on the results of free trade in England and on "the relative value of free trade and protection to the English-speaking people."

There was an evident title thus to call upon me, because I had, many years since, given utterance to an opinion then and now sincerely entertained. I thought, and each of the rolling years teaches me more and more fixedly to think, that in international transactions the British nation for the present enjoys a

commercial primacy; that no country in the world shows any capacity to wrest it from us, except it be America; that, if America shall frankly adopt and steadily maintain a system of free trade, she will by degrees, perhaps not slow degrees, outstrip us in the race, and will probably take the place which at present belongs to us; but that she will not injure us by the operation. On the contrary, she will do us good. Her freedom of trade will add to our present commerce and our present wealth, so that we shall be better than we now are. But while we obtain this increment, she will obtain another increment, so much larger than ours that it will both cover the minus quantity which, as compared with us, she at present exhibits in international transactions, and also establish a positive excess, in her own favor.

It would have been impertinent in me, and on other grounds impolitic, to accept the invitation of Mr. McKay while the Presidential contest was yet pending. But all the agencies in that great election have now done their work, and protection has obtained her victory. Be she the loveliest and most fruitful mother of the wealth of nations, or be she an imposter and a swindler, distinguished from other swindlers mainly by the vast scale of her operations, she no longer stands within the august shadow of the election, and she must take her chance in the arena of discussion as a common combatant, entitled to free speech and to fair treatment, but to nothing more. So that the

citizens of two countries, long friendly, and evidently destined to yet closer frendliness, may now calmly and safely pursue an argument which, from either of the opposing points of view, has the most direct bearing on the wealth, comfort and well-being of the people on both sides of the water.

II. An Old Friend with a New Face.

The appeal of the champion whose call has brought me into the field is very properly made "to the wage-earners of the United States." He exhibits the deplorable condition of the British workingman, and asks whether our commercial supremacy is not upheld at his expense. The constant tenor of the argument is this: High wages by protection, low wages by free trade. It is even as the recurring burden of a song. Now, it sometimes happens that, while we listen to a melody presented to us as new, the idea gradually arises in the mind, "I have heard this before." And I can state with truth that I have heard this very same melody before; nay, that I am familiar with it. It comes to us now with a pleasant novelty; but once upon a time we British folk were surfeited, nay, almost bored to death with it. It is simply the old song of our squires, which they sang with perfect assurance to defend the Corn Laws, first from within the fortress of an unreformed Parliament, and then for a good many years more, with their defences fatally and fast

on the whole, higher than those of the Continent. Under protection, American wages are higher than those of Great Britain. We then argued, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* He now argues (just listen to his phonograph), *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* But our experience has proceeded a stage further than that of the American people. Despite the low wages of the Continent, we broke down every protective wall and flooded the country (so the phrase then ran) with the corn and the commodities of the whole world; with the corn of America first and foremost. But did our rates of wages thereupon sink to the level of the Continent? Or did it rise steadily and rapidly to a point higher than had been ever known before?

That the American rate of wages is higher than ours I concede. Some, at least, of the causes of this most gratifying fact I shall endeavor to acknowledge. My enumeration may be sufficient or may be otherwise. Whether it be exhaustive or not, the facts will of themselves tend to lay upon protectionism the burden of establishing, by something more than mere concomitancy, a causal relation between commercial restraint and wages relatively high. But what if, besides doing this, I show (and it is easy) that wages which may have been partially and relatively high under protection, have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade?

That protection may co-exist with high wages, that it may not of itself neutralize all the gifts and favors

of nature, that it does not, as a matter of course, make a rich country into a poor one—all this may be true, but is nothing to the point. The true question is, whether protection offers us the way to the maximum of attainable wage. This can only be done by raising to the utmost attainable height the fund out of which wages and profits alike are drawn. If its tendency is not to increase, but to diminish, that fund, then protection is a bar to high wages, not their cause; and is, therefore, the enemy, not the friend, of the classes on whose wages their livelihood depends. This is a first outline of the propositions which I shall endeavor to unfold and to bring home.

III. British Wages.

Mr. McKay greatly relied upon a representation which he has given as to the rate of wages in England. It is only incidental to the main discussion, for the subject of this paper is not England, but America. Yet it evidently requires to be dealt with; and I shall deal with it broadly, though briefly, asking leave to contest alike the inferences and the facts which he presents. My contention on this head will be twofold. First, he has been misled as to the actual rate of wages in England. Secondly, the question is not whether that rate is lower than the rate in America, nor even whether the American workman (and this is a very different matter) is always better off than the



RATIFYING THE NOMINATION.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

a very high degree, the public confidence. He supplies us with tables which compare the wages of 1833 with those of 1883 in such a way as to speak for the principal branches of industry, with the exception of agricultural labor. The wages of miners, we learn, have increased in Staffordshire (which almost certainly is the mining district of lowest increment) by 50 per cent. In the great exportable manufactures of Bradford and Huddersfield, the lowest augmentations are 20 and 30 per cent., and in other branches they rise to 50, 83, 100 and even to 150 and 160 per cent. The quasi-domestic trades of carpenters, bricklayers and masons, in the great marts of Glasgow and Manchester, show a mean increase of 63 per cent. for the first, 65 per cent. for the second, and 47 per cent. for the third. The lowest weekly wage named for an adult is twenty-two shillings (as against seventeen shillings in 1833), and the highest thirty-six shillings. But it is the relative rate with which we have to do; and, as the American writer appears to contemplate with a peculiar dread the effect of free trade upon shipping, I further quote Mr. Giffen on the monthly wages of seamen in 1833 and 1883 in Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool and London. The percentage of increase, since we have passed from the protective system of the Navigation Law into free trade, is in Bristol 66 per cent., in Glasgow 55 per cent., in Liverpool (for different classes) from 25 per cent. to 70 per cent., and in London from 45 per cent. to 69 per cent. Mr. Giffen has given the

IV. Protection Viewed in its First Aspects.

With a view to presenting the argument for leaving trade to the operation of natural laws in the simplest manner, I shall begin with some postulates which I suppose to be incapable of dispute.

International commerce is based, not upon arbitrary or fanciful considerations, but upon the unequal distribution among men and regions of aptitudes to produce the several commodities which are necessary or useful for the sustenance, comfort and advantage of human life.

If every country produced all commodities with exactly the same degree of facility or cheapness, it would be contrary to common-sense to incur the charge of sending them from one country to another.

But the inequalities are so great that (for example) region A can supply region B with many articles of food, and region B can, in return, supply region A with many articles of clothing, at such rates that, although in each case the charge of transmission has of necessity been added to the first cost, the respective articles can be sold after importation at a lower rate than if they were home-grown or home-manufactured in the one or the other country respectively.

The relative cost, in each case, of production and transmission, as compared with domestic production, supplies, while all remain untrammelled by State law, a rule, motive, or mainspring of distribution which may be termed natural.

vast army of the wholesale and retail tradesmen of a country, with all the wants appertaining to them. As consumers, they are taxed on all protected commodities; as the allies of producers in the business of distributing, they are forced to do with more capital what could be done as well with less.

V. Relation between Protection and High Wages.

Admitting that we see in the United States a coexistence of high wages with protection, but denying the relation of cause and effect between them, I may be asked whether I am prepared to broaden that denial into an universal proposition and contend that in no case can wages be raised by a system of protection.

My answer is this: A country cannot possiby raise its aggregate wage fund by protection, but must inevitably reduce it. It is a contrivance for producing dear and for selling dear, under cover of a wall or fence which shuts out the cheaper foreign article, or handicaps it on admission by the imposition of a heavy fine. Yet I may for the moment allow it to be possible that, in some particular trade or trades, wages may be raised (at the expense of the community) in consequence of protection. There was a time when America built ships for Great Britain; namely, before the American Revolution. She now imposes heavy duties to pre-

VI. On the Reasons why Protection only Injures, and does not Ruin, the United States.

I hold that dear production, even if compensated to the producer by high price, is a wasteful and exhausting process. I may still be asked for a detailed answer to the question: "How, then, is it, that America, which, as you say, makes enormous waste by protection, nevertheless outstrips all other countries in the rapid accumulation of her wealth?" To which my general answer is, that the case is like that of an individual who, with wasteful expenditure, has a vast fortune, such as to leave him a large excess of receipts. But for his waste that excess would be larger still.

I will, then, proceed to set forth some of the causes which, by giving exceptional energy and exceptional opportunity to the work of production in America, seem to allow (in homely phrase) of her making ducks and drakes of a large portion of what ought to be her accumulations, and yet, by virtue of the remainder of them, to astonish the world.

1. Let me observe, first, that America produces an enormous mass of cotton, cereals, meat, oils, and other commodities, which are sold in the unsheltered market of the world at such prices as it will yield. The producers are fined for the benefit of the protected interests, and receive nothing in return; but they obtain for their country, as well as for the world, the whole advantage of a vast natural trade; that is to say, a

trade in which production is carried on at a minimum cost in capital and labor as compared with what the rest of the world can do.

2. America invites and obtains in a remarkable degree from all the world one of the great elements of production, without tax of any kind; namely, capital.

3. While securing to the capitalist producer a monopoly in the protected trades, she allows all the world to do its best, by a free immigration, to prevent or qualify any corresponding monopoly in the class of workmen.

4. She draws upon a bank of natural resources so vast that it easily bears those deductions of improvidence which simply prevent the results from being vaster still.

Let me now mention some at least among those elements of the unrivalled national strength of America which explain to us why she is not ruined by the huge waste of the protective system. And first of these I place the immense extent and vastness of her territory, which make her not so much a country as in herself a world, and not a very little world. She carries on the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen. Of all the staple products of human industry and care, how few are there which, in one or another of her countless regions, the soil of America would refuse to yield. No other country has the same diversity, the same free choice of industrial pursuit, the same option to lay hold not on

VII. The Moral Aspect of the Subject.

I am sorry to say that, although I have closed the economical argument, I have not yet done with the counts of my indictment against protection. I have, indeed, had to ask myself whether I should be within my right in saying hard things, outside the domain of political economy, about a system which has commended itself to the great American state and people, although those hard things are, in part at least, strictly consequent upon what has been said before. Indeed, the moral is so closely allied to the economical argument as to be intertwined with it rather than consequent upon it. Further, I believe the people of the United States to be a people who, like that race from which they are sprung, love plain speaking; and I do not believe that to suppress opinions deliberately and conscientiously held would be the way to win your respect.

I urge, then, that all protection is morally as well as economically bad. This is a very different thing from saying that all protectionists are bad. Many of them, without doubt, are good, nay, excellent, as were in this country many of the supporters of the Corn Law. It is of the tendencies of a system that I speak, which operate variously, upon most men unconsciously, upon some men not at all; and surely that system cannot be good which makes an individual, or a set of individuals, live on the resources of the community and causes him

relatively to diminish that store, which duty to his fellow-citizens and to their equal rights should teach him by his contributions to augment. The habit of mind thus engendered is not such as altogether befits a free country or harmonizes with an independent character. And the more the system of protection is discussed and contested, the more those whom it favors are driven to struggle for its maintenance, the farther they must insensibly deviate from the law of equal rights, and, perhaps, even from the tone of genuine personal independence.

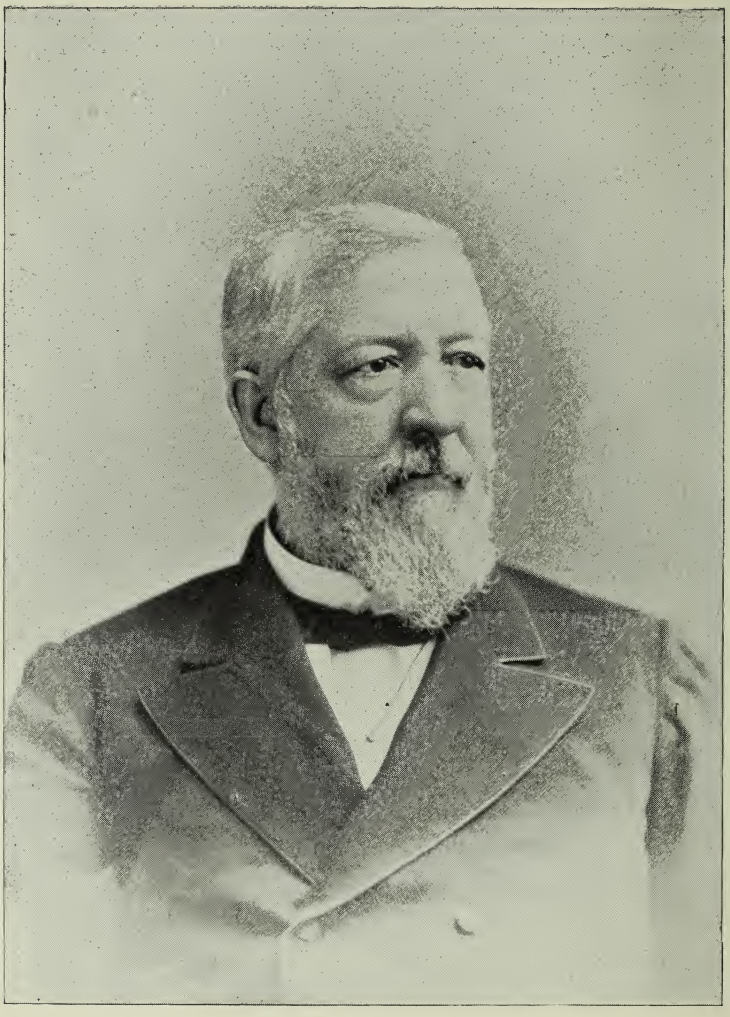
In speaking thus, we speak greatly from our own experience. I have personally lived through the varied phases of that experience, since we began that battle between monopoly and freedom, which cost us about a quarter of a century of the nation's life. I have seen and known, and had the opportunity of comparing, the temper and frame of mind engendered first by our protectionism, which we now look back upon as servitude, and then by the commercial freedom and equality which we have enjoyed for the last thirty or forty years. The one tended to harden into positive selfishness; the other has done much to foster a more liberal tone of mind.

The economical question which I have been endeavoring to discuss is a very large one. Nevertheless, it dwindles, in my view, when it is compared with the paramount question of the American future viewed at large. There opens before the thinking mind, when

mulations. The American love of freedom will, beyond all doubt, be to some extent qualified, perhaps in some cases impaired, by the subtle influence of gold, aggregated by many hands in vaster masses than have yet been known.

> Aurum per medios ire satellites,
> Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
> Ictu fulmineo

But, to rise higher still, how will the majestic figure, about to become the largest and most powerful on the stage of the world's history, make use of his power? Will it be instinct with moral life in proportion to its material strength! Will he uphold and propagate the Christian tradition with that surpassing energy which marks him in all the ordinary pursuits of life? Will he maintain with a high hand an unfaltering reverence for that law of nature which is anterior to the Gospel, and supplies the standard to which it appeals, the very foundation on which it is built up? Will he fully know, and fully act upon the knowledge, that both reverence and strictness are essential conditions of all high and desirable well-being? And will he be a leader and teacher to us of the old world in rejecting and denouncing all the miserable, degrading sophistries by which the arch-enemy, ever devising more and more subtle schemes against us, seeks at one stroke perhaps to lower us beneath the brutes, assuredly to cut us off from the hope and from the source of the final good? One thing is certain: His temptations will



James G. Blaine

JAMES G. BLAINE.



THE MOST commanding figure in American politics to-day is James G. Blaine. Possessed of magnetic personality, infinitely sensitive and keen, he is almost unique among statesmen. He was born June 31, 1830, in Union Township, Washington County, Pa. He is of rugged Scotch-Irish stock, a race warranted to wear well in any climate and under any circumstances. Blaine was sent to school when six years of age, and soon showed the two characteristics necessary to greatness—a surprising memory, and fluency of speech. When little over seventeen years of age, he graduated from Washington College, Washington, Pa. He was at this time a raw-boned, angular lad, but very bright and plucky. He put his foot on the first round of the ladder of fame by teaching school at Lick Springs, Kentucky. There were four hundred and fifty boys in the school, a sort of military college, and Blaine's first lessons in government were learned in that unruly little republic. In 1853, he removed to Augusta, Maine, and purchased a half interest in the Kennebec Journal. He was a heaven-made journalist. His keen satire and exhaustless humor, added to the

sharp look-out he kept upon current events, soon made him and his paper noteworthy. In 1858, he was elected to the Legislature, and also made chairman of the Republican State Committee. He was twice elected Speaker of the lower House, and thus early gave convincing proof of his power to control legislative bodies, and his great knowledge of parliamentary law. In the dark days of 1862, he became a member of Congress and soon took active part in the debates. He was re-elected for several terms and became Speaker of the Forty-first Congress. He proved himself a sturdy Samson in opposition to the political Philistines who constantly tried to upset his calm impartiality, and his iron endurance won the surprised admiration of friends and foes alike. For six years he held this position, which is practically the third greatest in the country, and really demands the greatest intelligence. Upon the return of the southern members to the House, Mr. Blaine became the recognized leader of the Republican minority, and proved a terrible thorn in the side of the "rebel brigadiers," who hated him right royally for his stand against admitting Jefferson Davis to amnesty. Prior to the meeting of the Republican convention in Cincinnati in 1876, the enemies of Mr. Blaine, first by innuendo and at last by definite charges, did all they could to injure him, but he triumphantly vindicated his integrity, and endeared himself still more to the hearts of the American people. He became Secretary

PROTECTION.

Hon. James G. Blaine,

Secretary of State.

Americans Honor Gladstone.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is the most distinguished representative of the free-trade school of political economists. His addresses in Parliament on his celebrated budget, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1853, were declared by Lord John Russell "to contain the ablest exposition of the true principles of finance ever delivered by an English statesman." His illustrious character, his great ability and his financial experience point to him as the leading defender of free trade applied to the industrial system of Great Britain.

Mr. Gladstone apologizes for his apparent interference with our affairs. He may be assured that apology

is superfluous. Americans of all classes hold him in honer: Free-traders will rejoice in so eminent an advocate, and protectionists, always the representatives of liberality and progress, will be glad to learn his opinions upon a question of such transcendent importance to the past, the present and the future of the Republic.

England's Meat, Other Nations' Poison.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the argument of Mr. Gladstone, as indeed of every English free-trader except John Stuart Mill, is the universality of application which he demands for his theory. In urging its adoption he makes no distinction between countries; he takes no account of geographical position—whether a nation be in the eastern or the western hemisphere, whether it be north or south of the equator; he pays no heed to climate or product, or degree of advancement; none to topography—whether the country be as level as the delta of the Nile, or as mountainous as the Republic of Bolivia; none to pursuits and employments, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial field; none to the wealth or poverty of a people; none to population, whether it be crowded or sparse; none to area, whether it be as limited as a German principality or as extended as a continental empire. Free trade he believes advantageous for England: therefore, without the allowance of any modifying condition, great or small, the English

economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free trade to be. Surely it is not unfair to mantain that, deducing his results from observation and experience in his own country, he may fall into error and fail to appreciate the financial workings of other countries geographically remote and of vastly greater area.

The American protectionist, let it not be discourteous to urge, is broader in his views than the English free-trader. No intelligent protectionist in the United States pretends that every country would alike realize advantage from the adoption of the protective system. Human government is not a machine, and even machines cannot be so perfectly adjusted as to work with equal effectiveness at all times and under all conditions. Great Britain and the United States certainly resemble one another in more ways than either can be said to resemble any other nation in the world; yet, when we compare the two on the question at issue, the differences are so marked that we almost lose sight of the resemblance. One is an insular monarchy with class government; the other a continental republic with popular government. One has a large population to the square mile; the other a small population to the

even a brief period. She is in an especial degree dependent upon the products of other nations. Moreover, she does not feel bound to pay heed to the rate of wages which her labor may receive. That, like the fabrics which her labor creates, must take its chance in the markets of the world.

Why England was Content.

On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britain a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of Continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly, protective. She manufactured for herself and for her net-work of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships. This was not protection! It was prohibition, absolute and remorseless, and it was continued even to the day when Mr. Gladstone entered upon his long and splendid career in Parliament. It was not broken, though in some respects it was relaxed, until in the fulness of time British energy had carried the wealth and the skill of the kingdom to the point where no competition could be feared.

markets of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years—1846 to 1856—these adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

Financial Disaster.

The withdrawal or termination of these influences, by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, placed the tariff of 1846 where a real test of its merits or its demerits could be made. It was everywhere asked with apprehension and anxiety, Will this free-trade tariff now develop and sustain the business of the country as firmly and securely as it has been developed and sustained by protection? The answer was made in the ensuing year by a widespread financial panic, which involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the South as in the North, leaving the country disordered and distressed in all the avenues of trade. The disastrous results of this tariff upon the permanent industries of the country are described in President Buchanan's well-remembered message, communicated to Congress after the panic: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufacturers have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and

a whole chapter of the history of free trade in the United States:

> No price for property; no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshal; no purchasers at execution-sales except the creditor or some hoarder of money; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand.

Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties patriotically united for the common good. That act, supplemented by the act of 1828, brought genuine prosperity to the country. The credit of passing the two protective acts was not due to one party alone. It was the work of the great men of both parties. Mr. Clay and General Jackson, Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren, General William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, Silas Wright and Louis McLane, voted for one or the other of these acts, and several of them voted for both. The co-operation of these eminent men is a great historic tribute to the necessity and value of protection. Plenty and prosperity followed, as if by magic, the legislation to which they gave their support. We have their concurrent testimony that the seven years preceding the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824 were the most discouraging which the young Republic in its brief life had encountered, and that the seven years which followed its enactment were beyond precedent the most prosperous and happy.



MILWAUKEE RAILROAD STATION,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

But Mr. Gladstone, with an apparent confidence in results as unshaken as though he were dealing with the science of numbers, proceeds to demonstrate the advantage of free trade. He is positively certain in advance of the answer which experiment will give, and the inference is that nothing is to be gained by awaiting the experiment. Mr. Gladstone may argue for Great Britain as he will, but for the United States we must insist on being guided by facts, and not by theories; we must insist on adhering to the teachings of experiments which "have been carried forward by careful generalization to well-grounded conclusions."

Value of Protection during the War.

As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free trade. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an imperatively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes. The panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The Civil War, which closed in 1865, had

Does Mr. Gladstone maintain that I am confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc* in these statements? He must show, then, that the United States during the war could have collected a great internal revenue on domestic manufactures and products, when under the system of free trade similar fabrics would daily have reached New York from Europe to be sold at prices far below what the American manufacturer, with the heavy excise then levied, could afford to set upon his goods. And if the government could collect little from the customs under free trade, and nothing from internal products, whence could have been derived the taxes to provide for the payment of interest on public loans, and what would have become of the public credit? Moreover, with free trade, which Mr. Gladstone holds to be always and under all circumstances wiser than protection, we should have been compelled to pay gold coin for European fabrics, while at home and during the tremendous strain of the war, legal-tender paper was the universal currency. In other words, when the life of the country depended upon the government's ability to make its own notes perform the function of money, the free-traders' policy would have demanded daily gold for daily bread.

The free-trader cannot offset the force of the argument by claiming that the laws regulating revenue and trade are, like municipal laws, silent during the shock of arms; because the five closing years—indeed, almost six years—of the decade in which the Rebellion

tially the same prices. Does any free-trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manufacturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manufacturers themselves in the second place? It is not asserted that during the nineteen years since the heavy duty was first established (except during the past few months) American rails have been as cheap in America as English rails have been in England, but it is asserted with perfect confidence that, steadily and invariably, American railroad companies have bought cheaper rails at home than they would have been able to buy in England if the protective duty had not stimulated the manufacture of steel rails in the United States, and if the resulting competition had not directly operated upon the English market.*

* In 1870, only 30,000 tons of steel rail were manufactured in the United States. But the product under the increased duty of that year rapidly increased. The relative number of tons produced in England and the United States for a period of twelve years is shown as follows:

	England.	*United States.*
1877	508,400	385,865
1878	622,390	491,427
1879	520,231	610,682
1880	732,910	852,196
1881	1,023,740	1,187,770

For the same period, 1877-1888 inclusive, the following table will show the number of tons of steel ingots produced in the two countries respectively:

	England.	*United States.*
1877	750,006	500,524
1878	807,527	653,773
1879	834,511	829,439
1880	1,044,382	1,074,262
1881	1,441,719	1,374,247

2. English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was thirty-four cents per pound in gold. The American competition, under a heavy protective duty, had, by 1872, reduced the price to thirteen cents per pound, duty paid. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at four and three-quarter cents per pound, and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are manufactured. The lowering of price was not a voluntary act on the part of the English manufacturer. It was the direct result of American competition under a protective duty—a competition that could not have been successfully inaugurated under free trade.

3. In the year 1860, the last under a free-trade policy, the population of thirty-one millions in the United States bought carpets to the amount of twelve millions of dollars. Nearly half of the total amount was imported. In 1888, with a population estimated at

	England.	*United States.*
1882	1,235,785	1,284,067
1883	1,097,174	1,148,709
1884	784,968	996,983
1885	706,583	959,471
1886	730,343	1,574,703
1887	1,021,847	2,101,904
1888	979,083	1,386,277
Total in 12 years,	9,963,454	12,980,054

	England.	*United States.*
1882	1,673,649	1,514,687
1883	1,553,380	1,477,345
1884	1,299,676	1,375,531
1885	1,304,127	1,519,430
1886	1,570,520	2,269,190
1887	2,089,403	2,936,033
1888	2,032,794	2,511,161
Total in 12 years,	16,401,688	18,035,622

Under the protective duty of 1870, the United States soon manufactured annually a much larger quantity of steel than Great Britain, and reduced the price from $100 per ton in gold to less than $35 per ton in gold.

impossible. A very large proportion of the railway enterprises would of necessity have been abandoned if the export of gold to pay for the rails had been the condition precedent to their construction. But the manufacture of steel rails at home gave an immense stimulus to business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not heretofore accessible.

I might ask Mr. Gladstone what he would have done with the labor of the thousands of men engaged in manufacturing rail, if it had been judged practicable

nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles."

I recall this quotation primarily for two reasons: *First*, Mr. Cleveland stands without a rival at the head of the free-trade party in the United States, and it is instructive to see how exactly he adopts the line of argument used by the English free-trader. *Second*, It is a valuable admission from the head of the free-trade party when he affirms that "comparatively a few of our people use imported articles," and that there are "millions of our people who never use or never saw any of the foreign products." In what words could the complete success of the protective policy in the United States be more fitly expressed?

But when Mr. Cleveland asserted that our people pay for our domestic fabrics "nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles," he evidently spoke without investigating facts, and accepted as true one of those fallacious statements which have been used in the interest of foreign importers to deceive the people. Mr. Cleveland's argument would have been strengthened if he had given a few examples—nay, if he had given one example—to sustain his charge. As he omitted all illustrations of his position, I venture to select a few which apparently establish the exact reverse of Mr. Cleveland's statement:

India rubber goods are protected by a duty of 25 per cent.; but, instead of those goods being 25 per cent. higher in price than the foreign goods, they are, in fact, cheaper. They undersell the English article in Canada and success-

to buy the rail in England? Fortunately he has given his answer in advance of the question, for he tells us that "in America we produce more cloth and more iron at high prices, instead of more cereals and more cotton at low prices." The grain-growers of the West and the cotton-growers of the South will observe that Mr. Gladstone holds out to them a cheerful prospect! They "should produce more cereals and more cotton at low prices!" Mr. Gladstone sees that the protective system steadily tends to keep up the price

fully compete with Canada's goods, which are protected by a duty of 20 per cent.

Patent leather is subject to a duty of 20 per cent.; but patent leather is not, therefore, 20 per cent. higher in the United States than elsewhere. On the contrary, it is cheaper. Five years ago, the city government of London advertised for bids for a large amount of patent leather to be used in connection with the uniforms of the police. There were bids from several countries, but the lowest bid was offered by a manufacturer of Newark, N. J. He secured the contract, and furnished the goods at a fair profit.

Steel rails are selling in London for seven pounds sterling per ton. The duty is $15 per ton. The price, therefore, in the United States ought to be, according to Mr. Cleveland's doctrine, $50 per ton. But in fact the price is but $35 per ton, and during the last summer and autumn was as low as $25 per ton, and large sales were made at $30 per ton.

Boots and shoes are subject to 30 per cent. duty. According to Mr. Cleveland, they should be 30 per cent. higher than the foreign article. As a matter of fact, they are cheaper. American boots and shoes hold the Canadian market against the European manufacture.

Examples of this kind could be shown on almost the whole tariff list where an American manufacture is firmly established. In fact, the whole history of protection has vindicated what Alexander Hamilton said of it when he was at the head of the Treasury: "The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the *minimum* of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience." Mr. Hamilton thus effectually answers both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cleveland.

were cherished in the time of the glorious Georges, in the era of Walpole and the elder Pitt.

I do not mean to imply that Mr. Gladstone's words carry with them an approval, even retrospectively, of this course toward the colonies, but there is a remarkable similarity to the old policy in the fundamental idea that causes him in 1889 to suggest that Americans produce "too much cloth and too much iron," and should turn their labor to "low-priced cereals and low-priced cotton." Are we not justified in concluding that Mr. Gladstone's theory of free trade, in all its generalizations and specifications, is fitted exactly to the condition of Great Britain, and that British hostility to American protection finds its deep foundation in the fact—to quote the old phrases—that "it is prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain," that "it lessens our dependence upon Great Britain," and that "it interferes with profits made by British merchants?"

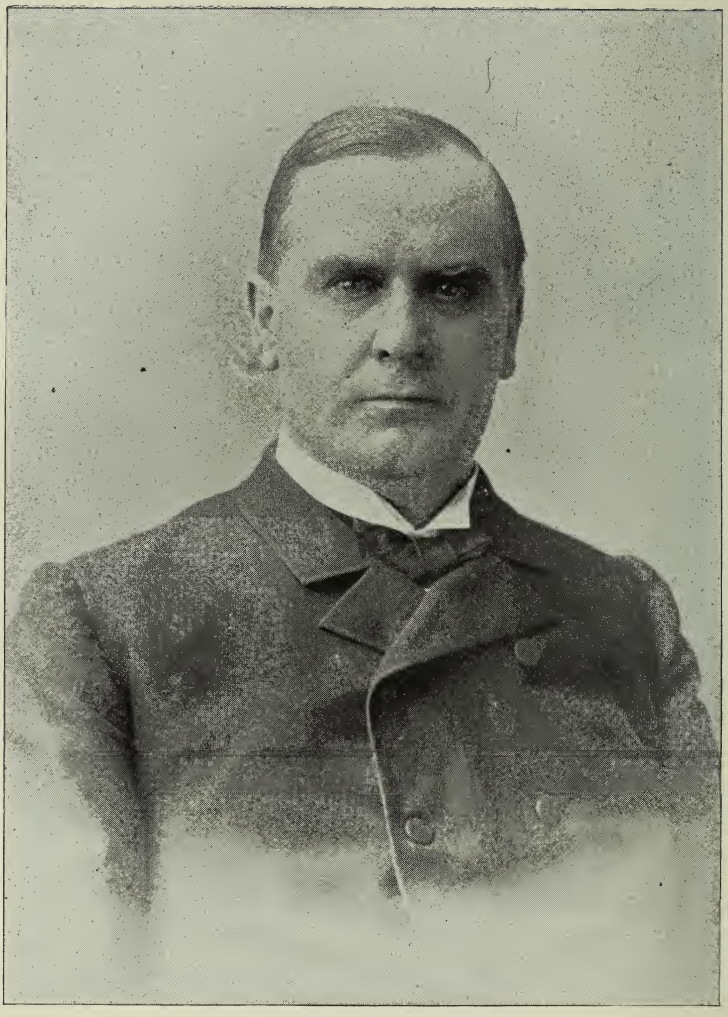
Carrying the War into the Enemy's Camp.

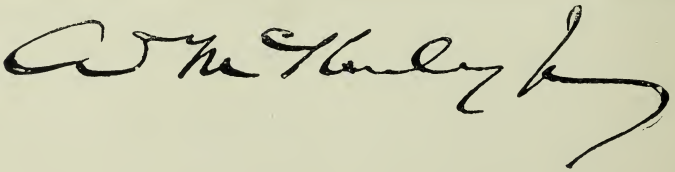
Mr. Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: "No adversary will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries." This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised

by the enactment of the Morrill tariff. It will be found, I think, that the advance of wages in England corresponds precisely in time, though not in degree, with the advance in the United States, and the advance in both cases was directly due to the firm establishment of protection in this country as a national policy. But it must not be forgotten that American wages are still from 70 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than British wages. If a policy of free trade should be adopted in the United States, the reduction of wages which would follow here would promptly lead to a reduction in England. The operatives of Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield recognize this fact as clearly as do the proprietors who pay the advanced wages, and more clearly than do certain political economists who think the world of commerce and manufactures can be unerringly directed by a theory evolved in a closet without sufficient data, and applied to an inexact science.

Gladstone's Moral Plea Faulty.

The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that "all protection is *morally*, as well as economically, bad." He is right in making this his strongest ground of opposition, if protection is a question of morals. But his assertion leaves him in an attitude of personal inconsistency. There is protection on sea as well as on land. Indeed, the most palpable and effective form of protection is





WILLIAM M'KINLEY, JR.



WILLIAM M'KINLEY, JR., was born in Niles, Ohio, February 26, 1844. He was educated in the public schools, and no better evidence of the excellence of the system could be forthcoming than his wonderful financial training. When only seventeen years old, on the outbreak of the war, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry. In that subordinate position he never failed to do his duty, and though full of ambition, he gave himself up so thoroughly to the cause of his country that he won the esteem of his superiors, and, with it, rapid promotion. He bowed to discipline that he might rise to rulership. He fought during the entire war, refusing to avail himself of the well-earned rest so dear to the hearts of most men. In September, 1865, he was honorably mustered out of the service with the full rank of captain, in the regiment he had joined at the beginning of the war, and the right to the rank of brevet major. From 1869 to 1871 he was prosecuting attorney for Stark County, Ohio, and his fairness, courage and thorough uprightness in that position gained for him the entire approval of the public. Though strict in the

performance of his duties, he made friends instead of enemies. The State of Ohio is a regular nursery of statesmen, and whoever would compete for a public position must be the possessor of more than ordinary ability. In spite of this fact, William M'Kinley, Jr., has represented his State in the national Legislature during seven sessions, from the Forty-fifth to the Fifty-first Congress. In the latter session he introduced the bill known by his name the world over, embodying the most complete tariff legislation ever brought before a governing body. To that bill he devoted the most careful study and painstaking inquiry. A staunch Republican from the beginning, he saw that the continued success of his party depended upon the preservation of those conditions which have made the American laborer thrifty, contented, and independent; which have made his home the centre of refinement and even luxury, and kept the bright star of hope burning in the sky of his aspirations. The passage of that bill was a circumstance of which any man might well be proud. Through it, M'Kinley has fought the battle of the poor and come out gloriously victorious, and no future Congress will ever dare upset the principles of the M'Kinley Tariff Bill, however much they may be modified to suit the exigencies of political parties. In 1890, Mr. M'Kinley was defeated for re-election to Congress, but in 1891 he became Governor of Ohio, after a campaign which, in many of its features, resembled the strife between Lincoln and Douglass in

Value of Protection.

Hon. William M'Kinley, Jr.,

Governor of Ohio.

We shall have tariffs so long as we have a government. We can only dispense with them by resorting to direct taxation, and it is hardly probable that the people of this country will ever consent to that system exclusively for raising the needed revenues of the government. Whatever may be our opinions of either a "tariff for revenue only," or a tariff for revenue coupled with "protection," the great majority of our people will probably always prefer the one or the other for raising revenue to taxing directly our own products, our own industries and our own people. The government inaugurated the tariff system in its first revenue bill, and no considerable party in this country has ever sought to change it.

In the discussion of these theories of external taxation we are prone to forget that the one or the other is a necessity. No government can be administered without an assured annual income, and there is no way of securing this income save by resorting to the taxing power conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the United States It may be an evil, but if so, it is a necessary one, and inseparable from the existence of government.

It requires about $400,000,000 annually to meet the fiscal requirements of the government. That is the condition which confronts us. The way to raise this money with the least burden upon the people is the problem of the statesman and legislator. It would not do in time of peace to issue the notes of the government, and thus create a charge upon the people, making no provision for their payment. It would not do to restore the internal-revenue system as it prevailed through the war and for some years subsequent thereto, when everything was taxed—every tool of trade, every article of commerce, every legal document, every check or note or instrument of writing, every profession, every income. The people would not stand that long. They bore it patiently and patriotically under a great national necessity. They bore it that the government might be preserved and its institutions continued, just as they had borne similar taxation at two other periods of our history which were similar in their necessities.

It must be manifest, therefore, that the largest share of the needed income must be raised by tariff taxation

or a duty upon foreign products, and at the same time carefully providing that such duties shall be on products of foreign growth and manufacture which compete with like products of home growth and manufacture, so that, while we are raising all the revenues needed by the government, we shall do it with a discriminating regard for our own people, their products and their employments? Such a tariff stands as a defence to our own productions, as a discrimination in favor of our own and against the foreign, and as an encouragement to productive enterprises, besides securing a healthful competition not only among ourselves, but between ourselves and foreign producers, tending to prevent combinations and monopolies, and eventuating in fair and reasonable prices to our own consumers. This is impossible under the Democratic revenue-tariff system.

Cardinal Manning says in a recent article:

If the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consists or consisted in multiplying without stint or limit these articles and the like at the lowest possible price, so as to undersell all the nations of the world, well, then, let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then I say, if the hours of labor resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not say any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied and able only to take food and lie down to rest, the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.

I will ask, is it possible for a child to be educated who become a daily wage earner at ten or even twelve years of age? Is it possible for a child in

the agricultural districts to be educated who may be sent out into the fields at nine? I will ask, can a woman be the mother and head of a family who works sixty hours a week? You may know better than I, but bear with me if I say I do not understand how a woman can train her children in the hours after they come home from school if she works all day in a factory. The children come home at four and five in the afternoon; there is no mother in the house. I do not know how she can either clothe them, or train them, or watch over them, when her time is given to labor for sixty hours a week.

Never was more truth crowded into the same space. It presents the situation in a most striking manner. If the great end of life be to multiply commodities at the lowest price, at the expense of labor, then the British system surpasses ours; then does it become the ideal system, and the Democratic party is wise in adopting it. But there are other considerations higher and deeper than cheap fabrics, when made so by the degradation of human labor. We must take into account the family and the fireside. We must have more concern for the man, for his welfare, his improvement and development, the enlargement of his opportunities, inspiring him to greater effort in the confidence of increasing rewards. These conditions will ultimately secure cheaper commodities, not through harsh and unnatural exactions placed upon labor, but through that skill and craft and invention which are the sure outcome of intelligent, thoughtful, independent and well-paid labor.

The mind will not invent, will not discover, new and better and more economical processes and methods of production if the body is used as a mere "creature of burden." If the body is enslaved, the mind cannot be free.

doctrine of protection in the colonies. In his new work he now adds that

since that time the whole of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, except New South Wales and the Cape (South Africa), have become protectionist, while the Cape has heavy duties upon most goods, put on, however, mainly for revenue purposes, but now beginning to give rise to a growth of protectionist opinion; and in New South Wales the free-traders hold their own only by a bare majority.

Sir Charles further says that it cannot be denied that the effect in the provinces of the Victorian protective system has been to enable the colony to gradually supply its wants with a better class of home-made goods, instead of importing them.

Speaking of Canada, he says: "There can be but little doubt about the general popularity of the protective system in Canada, and Sir John Macdonald's long possession of power has been facilitated by his adoption of the so-called national policy," which, on Sir Charles Dilke's own admission, "has caused Canadian manufacturers to win the greater portion of the Canadian market;" and he also states that the wealth of Canada has been more rapid since the adoption of the protectionist policy than before.

On the 12th of May, 1887, in the Commons, Sir Charles Tupper, in speaking of a previous period in the history of Canada under free trade, said:

When the languishing industries of Canada embarrassed the finance minister of that day, when, instead of large surplus, large deficits succeeded year after year, the opposition urged upon that honorable gentleman that he should endeavor to give increased protection to the industries of Canada, which would prevent them from thus languishing and being destroyed. We were not successful,—I will not say in leading the honorable gentleman himself to the conclusion that what would be a sound policy, for I have some reason to believe

that he had many a misgiving on that question,—but, at all events, we were not able to change the policy of the gentleman who then ruled the destinies of Canada. As is well known, that became the great issue at the subsequent general election of 1878, and the Conservative party being returned to power, pledged to promote and foster the industries of Canada as far as they were able, brought down a policy through the hands of my honored predecessor, Sir Leonard Tilley, . . . and I have no hesitation in saying that the success of that policy, thus propounded and matured from time to time, has been such as to command the support and confidence of a large portion of the people of this country down to the present day.

In Germany, so long ago as the 14th of May, 1882, Bismarck, in a speech before the German Reichstag, paid to the Republican tariff high eulogy. He said:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.

Mulhall, the great London statistician, states that in 1860 our total wealth was estimated at $16,000,000,000; it is now estimated at over $60,000,000,000. In 1882 the same authority estimated the total wealth of Great Britain at $40,640,000,000. Mr. Mulhall sets forth our development and progress in these forcible words:

It would be impossible to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years. Every day that the sun rises upon the American people it sees an addition of two and one-half million dollars to the accumulation of wealth in the Republic, which is equal to one-third of the daily accumulation of all mankind outside the United States.

It is said that under the Republican policy exportations have been diminished, and our foreign trade

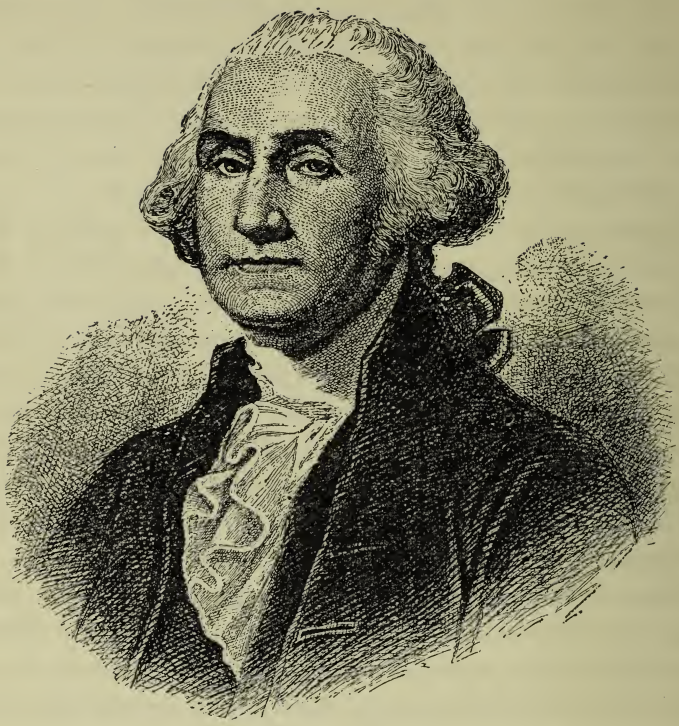
THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.



THERE is no question more pertinent just now than this: "What effect will the free coinage of silver have on the vast majority of the population?" Silver is of more ancient use as coin than gold, and has certainly been "current money with the merchant" for over four thousand years. Norway and Sweden possess within their bounds, the most famous mines in the Old World. At one time Mexico produced two-thirds of the metal in use. A single lump, weighing four thousand pounds and valued at $68,149, was on exhibition in the Mexican Department, at the Centennial, in 1876. At present, the greatest silver mines of the world are within the territories of the United States. The supply in Colorado and Nevada alone being supposedly inexhaustible. It comes to the mints in various forms—either as pig bars, worn coin, old plate and articles of jewelry, not omitting figures of saints and other sacred relics. All, however, go into the furnace together, and become money when legally stamped. There are two kinds of money, namely, absolute and relative. Gold

and silver are absolute money, carrying a certain value with them apart from that given by law. Notes, checks, greenbacks, are only relative money of no intrinsic value, but depending for value upon the solvency and conscience of the redeeming power. It must be remembered then, that gold and silver have each a commercial value that no law can fix—save those of trade—and no stamp of government can permanently raise or lower. Thus, if there should be a great demand for gold in the arts, its value must rise, provided production was not greatly increased to meet the greater demand, in spite of the inscription upon the metal calling it a dollar, a half-eagle, or an eagle. Oddly enough, the production of gold remains almost even year by year; that is, when compared with the out-put of silver. All that has been said of gold applies with equal truth to silver. It will always be worth more or less than the denomination of the stamp which makes it money. Of late years its production has been enormously increased; in fact, out of all due proportion to its demand for artistic and even monetary use. The United States government has been buying $4,500,000 of silver bullion monthly, which, or a great part of which, is still piled in the Treasury vaults. The actual coinage of silver has exceeded $29,000,000 a year, which, at the beginning of 1890, meant over $360,000,000 of silver money coined. During that time the relative value of silver to gold had become as 1 to 16. Since 1819, England has adhered strictly to

the gold standard or mono-metallic system. The reasons advanced for this are easily recounted. The advocates of gold say that there is a constant liability to fluctuations in value, and it is much better that, to secure unity, there should be one standard, and that standard should be gold; and the argument brought forward is, that silver, being so bulky, is hardly a fit article for commerce, and that the lightness of gold should prove it much more suitable. They also adduce the general tendency among nations to adopt the gold standard, as also that the general growth of the use of checks, notes and bills of exchange has made gold an all-sufficient metal. Gold is, however, as subject to fluctuation in value as silver, and, being a commercial article, cannot be arbitrarily governed by civil laws. The argument on the other side, or that of bi-metallic standard, is no less easily set forth. If gold be in value as 16 to 1 of silver, it is certain that the free coinage of silver would drive out gold, as the silver dollar would be thus reduced to a value of between 70 and 80 cents, and as foreign nations are constantly coining silver, they would buy our gold and thus denude us of the more precious metal. This will naturally cause the currency to shrink over 20 per cent. Now, who will suffer from this? Certainly not the rich or those who are interested in great financial affairs, for they will take care; yes, and are even now arranging that all pledges shall be for gold. These men cannot be blamed. Self-preservation is the first law of nature;



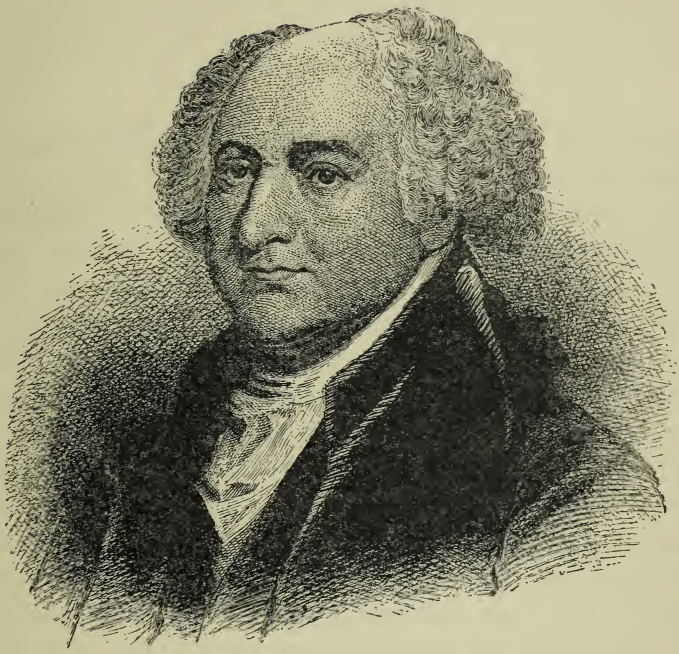
G. Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON



George Washington, the first President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Va., February 22, 1732. His ancestors were of the landed gentry of Northamptonshire, England. His great-grandfather was commander of the troops sent by the colonial government to punish the Seneca Indians. It is thus seen that his family was early rooted in America. He received a careful home-training, and attended two local schools, but was never a classical scholar. The whole bent of his mind was practical; when a mere boy he surveyed the vast property of Lord Fairfax, through whom he obtained the position of Public Surveyor. Many of his surveys are on record, and even at this day are models of exactness. He pursued this profession for three years. When Washington was nineteen years of age, the colony was divided into military districts, and he was given, by Governor Robert Dinwiddie, the position of Adjutant-General with the rank of Major, being the youngest officer of that rank in the colonies. He soon made himself conversant with military affairs. October 30, 1753, he was sent by Governor Dinwiddie as commissioner to the French commander on the fork of the

Ohio River. He performed his mission loyally, though it entailed great suffering and danger from both French and Indians. April 2, 1754, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and took part in the disastrous campaign against the French and their Indian allies, which ended in the surrender of Fort Necessity. The next year we find him on General Braddock's staff, and had his advice been followed, that General would probably have been spared the disastrous defeat which cost him his life. Washington really saved the remainder of the army from annihilation. In 1759 he married Mrs. Martha Curtis, a lady of rare personal charm and solid mental endowments. He was for some time a member of the Virginia Assembly, and took part in the first Colonial Congress, winning golden opinions by his steadiness and loyal faith. While still a member of the Continental Congress, the battle of Lexington took place, April 19, 1775, and Washington was chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of the forces engaged against Great Britain. He hurried to Boston, forced the British to evacuate that city, and from that time until the close of the war at Yorktown, he presented the spectacle of a commander unwearied by defeat, not elated by victory, unmoved by calumny, unspoiled by flattery ; at once a gentleman, a hero, a patriot, a Christian, and a modest man. It was only natural that Washington should be called to govern the nation he had so nobly aided to create, and on the 30th of April, 1789, he was inaugurated as the first



John Adams

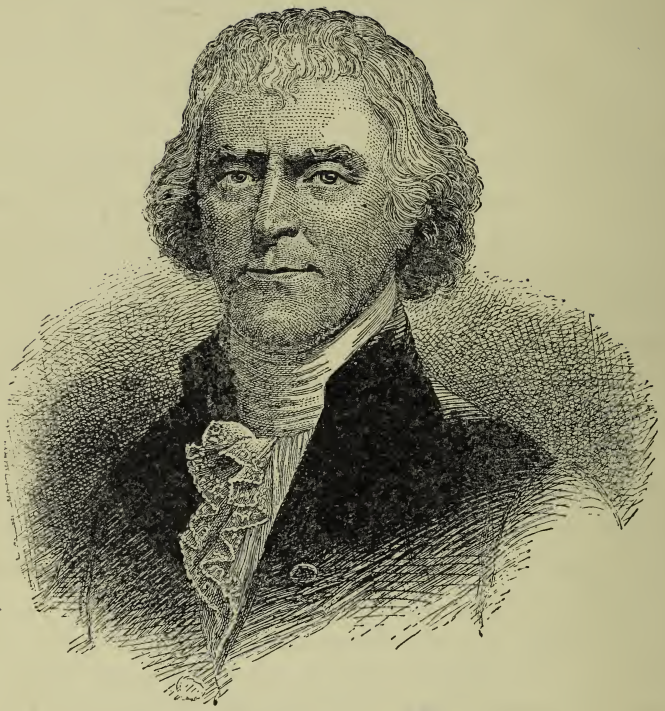
JOHN ADAMS.



JOHN ADAMS, second President of the United States, was born at Braintree, Mass., October 30, 1735. His ancestor emigrated to this country in 1632, so that the family had been settled in America one hundred and two years when John Adams was born. In 1751, he entered Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1755. He taught school, and studied law in the office of Mr. Putnam, afterwards a general in the Revolutionary War. He was admitted to the Bar in 1758, and soon won fame as an astute and honorable member of the legal profession. So greatly was his power appreciated that Governor Barnard offered him the position of Advocate General in the Admiralty court. He first became distinguished politically by his vigorous opposition to the Stamp Act, in 1765, when his ringing resolutions became the Massachusetts creed of liberty. In 1774, he was sent by Massachusetts to the Congress in Philadelphia, and so strongly urged separation from the mother country that he was chosen, with Jefferson, to draught the Declaration of Independence. His patriotism led him to decline the office of Chief Justice, which was offered

to him in 1776, preferring to serve his country in a more direct and drastic fashion.

John Adams may fitly be called the father of the American navy, as December 29, 1775, he was appointed by Massachusetts, in conjunction with John Palmer, to arrange for the fitting out of armed vessels. In 1777, he was appointed one of the commissioners to France, his companions being Franklin and Deane. He remained in Paris eighteen months, and December, 1779, he was sent as plenipotentiary to treat for peace and arrange a commercial treaty with Great Britain. Though balked in his first aim, he succeeded in forming a commercial and defensive treaty with Holland. John Adams was the first minister sent by this country to Great Britain after the Revolution. He succeeded in winning the personal regard of George III. and the respect of his court, as well as the approval of the American government, by his firm and yet gracious demeanor, and the sterling patriotism he evinced. On his return to America, he was elected Vice-President of the United States and, upon the refusal of Washington to accept a third term, he was chosen President and inaugurated March 4, 1797. June 15th, President Adams, by proclamation, summoned Congress to meet, in consequence of the alarming relations existing between this country and France, and his firm attitude, combined with the unanimous support of all political parties, did much to hasten the settlement of the difficulties with the truculent directory,



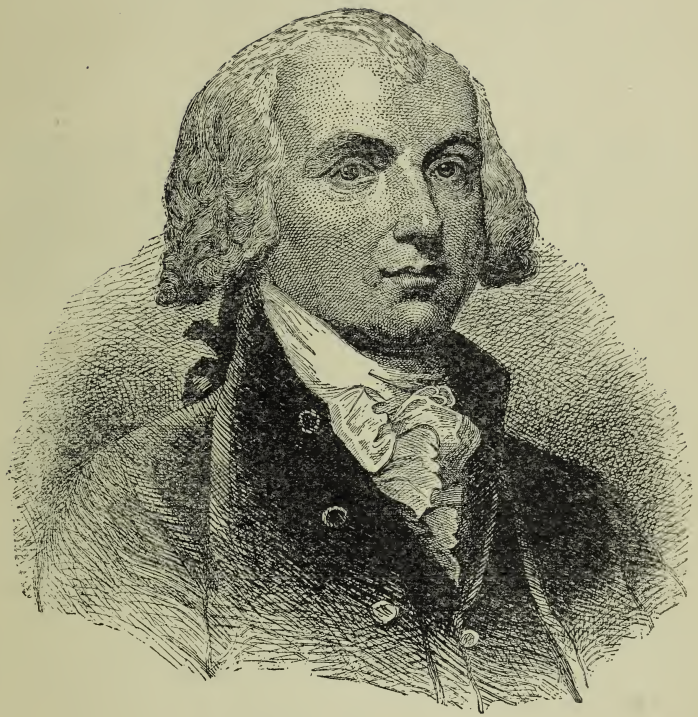
Th. Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON.



Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, was born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Virginia, April 2, 1743. His ancestry was Welsh, but his branch of the family had been settled in America for at least three generations. At the early age of nine he began the study of Latin, Greek and French, and continued his studies, under able masters, until his seventeenth year, when he was admitted to William and Mary College, where he remained for two years. He then took up the study of law in the office of a Mr. Wyeth, who introduced the young student to Governor Farquier and other notable persons, whose conversation aided in forming his mind. He was admitted to the Bar in 1767, and filled the office of Justice of the Peace for seven years. When twenty-six years old he was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and soon took an active part against Great Britain. As Washington was the *sword*, Jefferson was the *pen* of the American Revolution. When in 1772, Lord Bottetourt dissolved the Assembly in consequence of its resolution sustaining Rhode Island in

its resistance to British tyranny, Jefferson, with Washington, Lee and others, passed resolutions at the old Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg, pledging themselves to use no article imported from England. Jefferson also led in the establishment of Committees of Correspondence between the colonies, which resulted in the first Continental Congress. Though not elected to its first session, he was, upon the retirement of Peyton Randolph sent to represent the Virginia House, June 21, 1775. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, a document only third in importance to the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. Jefferson remained in Congress until September 2, 1776, when he returned to Virginia to take his seat in the Legislature. In 1779, Jefferson became Governor of Virginia. The war had been in progress three years, and the State was much harried by Cornwallis, Arnold, and Tarleton ; the latter nearly captured the person of Jefferson. As governor, he worked hand-in-glove with Washington, though his administration was very severely criticised. In the winter of 1783, Jefferson was again in Congress, and in July, 1784, we find him in Paris, acting as plenipotentiary. Jefferson was very popular as Minister to France, and while there did much to benefit American commerce. In March, 1790, President Washington selected Jefferson as Secretary of State. He represented the doctrines of State Rights and decentralization in the Cabinet in opposition to Washington and Hamilton. His attitude



James Madison

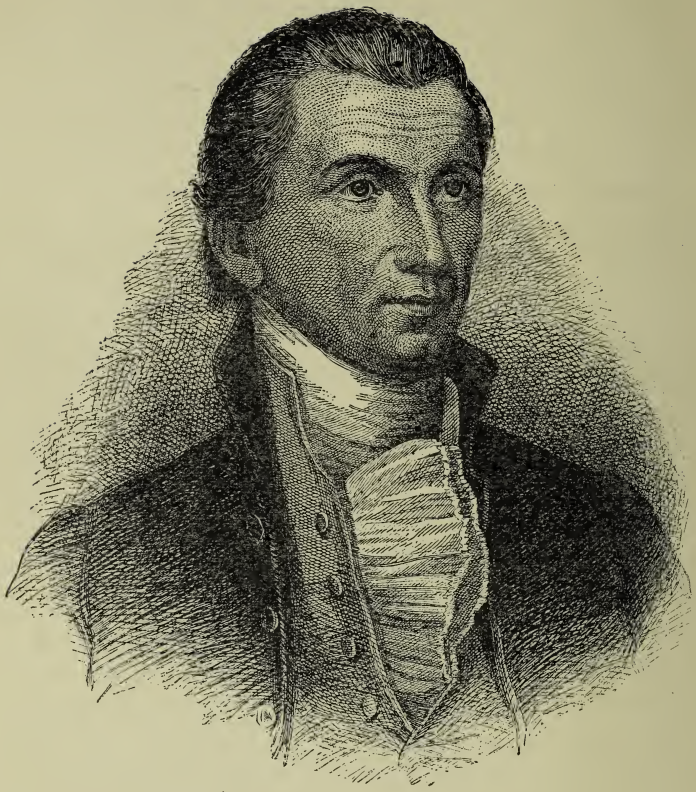
JAMES MADISON.



James Madison, fourth President of the United States, was born in King George County, Virginia, March 16, 1751. At the age of twenty years he graduated at Princeton, N. J., and began the study of law. After having spent nearly three years in the Virginia Convention, he was elected to Congress, in 1779. In 1784, in conjunction with Mr. Jefferson, he did good work in the Virginia Legislature in placing all religious denominations on an equal plane before the law. Madison's motion in the Virginia Legislature, in 1785, led to the meeting at Annapolis, and ultimately to the constitutional convention, held in Philadelphia, in May, 1787. His able representations to the assembled delegates led to the establishment of a national government instead of the loose confederacy of States, which had before existed. In the Virginia Convention, Madison most ably defended his views on government against such able opponents as Patrick Henry and George Mason. This was the crowning triumph of his life.

Madison was most strenuous in his advocacy of presenting a bold front to the claims of Great Britain.

He opposed all amicable measures relating to the former enemy of the country, and advocated a close association with France, the ally of the United States. He bitterly opposed the Alien and Sedition laws, in 1798, and was the author of the Virginia Resolutions, opposing them. He acted as Secretary of State under Jefferson, and sturdily opposed the efforts of foreign nations to draw the United States from their neutral position. In 1809, Madison was elected President, and his administration of eight years was full of storm and disquiet. In 1811, the Shawnees and other Indians became unruly, and September 26th, a body of troops, under General Harrison, afterwards President, set out to chastise them, and performed that duty most thoroughly. June 18, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain, which continued, with varying success, until the Peace of Ghent, December 24, 1814. In this war the fighting qualities of the American navy were splendidly demonstrated, and the result of the war was practically, though not nominally, in favor of the United States—all that they contended for being practically granted, or quietly buried, never to be revived. Under this administration, Louisiana and Indiana were admitted to the Union. A short war with the Creek Indians ended, March 27, 1814, almost in the annihilation of the tribe; General Jackson commanded against them. During the war with the British, the city of Washington was taken and burned, August 23, 1814; the library and public documents were destroyed in



James Monroe

JAMES MONROE.



James Monroe, fifth President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758. He came of an old Scotch family of cavaliers, one of his ancestors having served under Charles I. in the Parliamentary wars. In 1776, he left his studies in the college of William and Mary to join the Continental army, with which he served until the close of the war. He never rose to high rank, but was conspicuous for personal bravery on more than one occasion. He was badly wounded at the battle of Trenton. He served as Major under Lord Sterling, the highest military rank to which he attained. In 1780, he began to study law under Jefferson, and his association with that great bulwark of the Commonwealth must have had much to do with his after career. From 1782 to 1786, he served in the State Legislature of Virginia and also in Congress; after which he resumed the study of law until again elected to the Legislature. He opposed the acceptance of the Federal Constitution in the Virginia Convention, and thus stood in direct opposition to Madison and other notables. In 1790, he was elected United States

Senator, and stood boldly for States rights as opposed to centralization. Washington sent him as Minister to France in 1794, and he won golden opinions from that government because of his deep interest in the French Republic; he carried this a little too far, however, and was recalled in 1796, it being felt in Washington that a more conservative person could better represent the policy of the government. He was chosen Governor of Virginia in 1799, and was twice re-elected. His soldierly frankness and openness won the hearts of the people. He was one of the commissioners chosen to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans from the French, and enlarged his commission by the purchase of the whole of Louisiana. He was next sent as Minister to England, and, in 1804, attempted to negotiate the purchase of the Floridas from Spain, but failed. He had not much better success in a treaty negotiated with England the next year, as President Jefferson refused to submit it to the Senate on the ground that it did not cover the impressment of American seamen for the British navy. On his return from England, he was again elected to the Virginia Legislature and next became Governor of the State. From this he was called into the Cabinet of President Madison, in which he held the office of Secretary of State. He became Minister of War in 1814, and in the autumn of 1816, he was again elected President of the United States. Under this administration, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri were admitted to



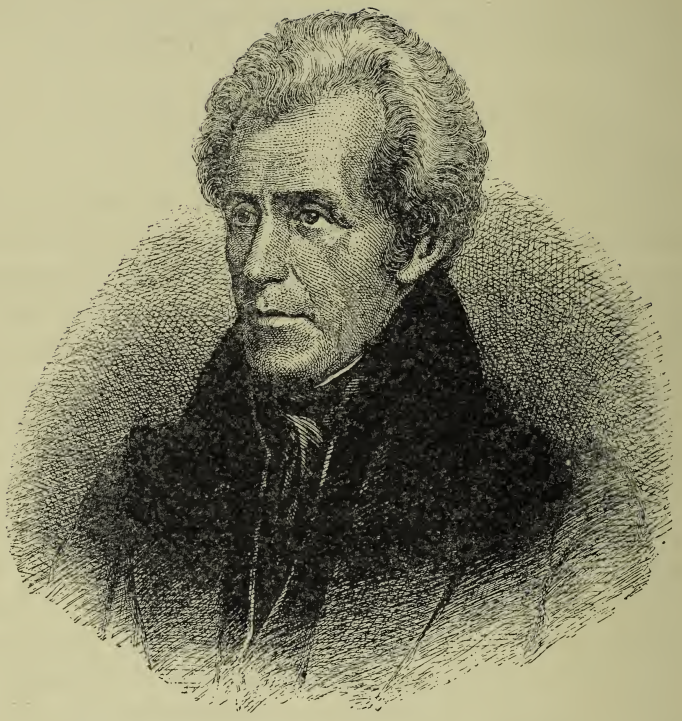
J. Q. Adams

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.



John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, was born at Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767. He was a son of John Adams, and accompanied his father to Europe, spending his earlier years at the capitals of France, Holland, and England. Few lads have enjoyed such splendid educational privileges, for his father was not alone a statesman but a conscientious parent, who devoted himself to the cultivation of the mind of his young charge. In 1780, Adams entered the University of Leyden, and when only fifteen years of age accompanied the Minister of the United States to St. Petersburg in the capacity of Secretary. He graduated from Harvard College in 1788, took up the study of law and was admitted to the Bar in 1791. Adams developed into a political writer of great ability and used his exceptional early advantages in a measure to attract the attention of the thinking men of the country, Washington among the number. The latter appointed him as Minister to the Hague in 1794. He was sent as Ambassador to Prussia by his father, but having been recalled by Jefferson, returned to the practice of law in Boston. He served in the Massachusetts

Senate and was also elected to Congress, where he voted with the Federalists for some time, but sustained Jefferson's Embargo, and thus lost influence. He held the position of professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in Harvard for three years. He was a very graceful writer, a finished debater, and on occasion did not disdain the Muse. Madison made him Ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1809, and when war broke out with Great Britain, Adams influenced the Czar to offer mediation, which, however, was not accepted by the English. He, with Russell and Clay, signed the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, on behalf of the United States. From 1815 to 1817 he served as Minister to London, and upon his return to America, became Secretary of State under Madison. In 1825, he was elected President by the House of Representatives, as the popular vote had been indecisive. His administration was marked by the union of the loose Constructionists in a national Republican party, which was ultimately known as the Whig party. They preserved the tenets of the Federalists, and advocated a high protective tariff and the use of the government money for internal improvements. Their opponents, first known as Jackson men, assumed the name of Democrats, by which they have since been known. They advocated tariff for revenue only, and opposed centralization. President Adams met with the fiercest opposition in Congress; in fact, the administration was, excepting one session, in the minority. The most important



Andrew Jackson

ANDREW JACKSON.



Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States, was born in Union County, Waxham Settlement, North Carolina, March 15, 1767. His earlier years were spent in a struggle with hardship and poverty, but this, doubtless, toughened the fibre of the man and fitted him for the stern scenes in which he was to participate. When little over thirteen years of age, he ran away to the army and was, with his brother, taken prisoner by the English, who soon, however, released the boys, not deeming it very heroic to make war on children. His schooling was very slight indeed, but his keen intelligence and indomitable pluck stood him in good stead. He studied law at Salisbury, North Carolina, and was admitted to practice at Nashville, Tennessee. He represented that State in Congress in 1796, and was chosen Senator in 1797. In Congress he steadfastly opposed George Washington and contracted a lasting friendship with Aaron Burr, being one of his sturdiest advocates when that erratic politician was on trial for conspiracy. In 1806, Jackson killed Charles Dixon in a duel. In 1813, as Major-General of militia, Jackson commanded in the war with the Creek

Indians of Georgia and Alabama. He defeated them in several sanguinary battles, and the 27th of March, 1814, he captured their stronghold at Horse Shoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa River. He made a treaty of peace with the Creeks in August, 1814. In May, 1814, he was commissioned as Major-General in the regular army, to serve against the British. He captured Pensacola, an important British station, and won immortal glory by his overwhelming defeat of the British at New Orleans, January 8, 1815. The American loss was only seven men killed and six wounded, while the English lost seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners. Jackson administered martial law in New Orleans so rigidly that after the peace he was fined $1000 for contempt of court, which fine Congress subsequently remitted and returned to him with interest. He commanded in the war against the Seminole Indians of Florida and brought it to a successful termination in the spring of 1818. His harsh methods during the campaign brought him into difficulties with Congress, but he did not seem to learn caution, for, on being appointed Military Governor of Florida, in 1821, he defied the civil courts again and would have been severely censured had not John Quincy Adams stood as his friend. Jackson was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1829, and held the reins of power until 1837. Early in 1831 a rupture occurred between President Jackson and John C. Calhoun, the Vice-

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